The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

Library of the Public
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ▽ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

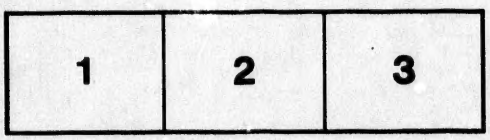
La bibliothèque des Archives
publiques du Canada

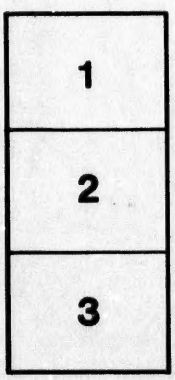
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

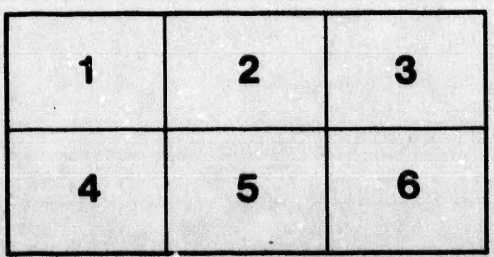
Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▽ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.







INFORMATION

RESPECTING

THE ABORIGINES

IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Circulated by Direction of

THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

BEING PRINCIPALLY EXTRACTS FROM

THE REPORT PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE APPOINTED ON THAT SUBJECT.

LONDON:
DARTON AND HARVEY,
GRACECHURCH-STREET.

1838.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY JOSEPH RICKERBY,
SHERBOURN LANE.

YEARLY MEETING, 1837.

THE following minute from the General Committee has been brought in and read: this Meeting adopts the suggestion therein contained, and desires the Meeting for Sufferings to pay close attention to the subject, and to act in it at their discretion.

"GENERAL COMMITTEE, 6 mo. 1st, 1837.—This Committee having had under its serious consideration the circumstances of the Aborigines of the British Colonial Possessions, particularly the Indians in Upper Canada, submits to the Yearly Meeting the propriety of recommending the subject to the close attention of the Meeting for Sufferings."

In consequence of the foregoing Minute of the Yearly Meeting, the Meeting for Sufferings appointed a Committee, on the subject. The attention of the Committee has been turned to the Report presented to the House of Commons at the close of the last session, on the state of the Aborigines in and near the British Settlements. This valuable document has furnished the Committee with a variety of very useful and interesting, though distressing, information on the whole subject referred to in the Yearly Meeting's Minute. They believe that they cannot at present better promote the object committed to them than by circulating generally throughout the Society extracts from this Report.

Although the mode in which evidence is generally taken by Committees of the House of Commons is not favourable to the statements offered being so interesting and attractive as they might be made, were they accompanied by all the advantages of the description of collateral circumstances and connected and minute details, yet the extensive range which the Report takes in, and the variety of testimony of an authentic character which the volumes of evidence offer, concur, with the station of those by whom the enquiry was instituted, to give to the information elicited a high degree of importance, which entitles it to the most serious attention.

The most striking fact to be deduced from the great body of evidence which has been collected is lamentable and awful. It appears that in almost every instance in which our countrymen have come in contact with the uncivilized Aborigines, in any part of the globe, they have exerted an influence which has tended powerfully to reduce the numbers and greatly to degrade the moral and physical character of the natives. In some instances absolute extinction of the natives has already taken place—in others the work is nearly completed—whilst in most of the remainder, it is proceeding with a dreadful and accelerating rapidity.

It has been said, that in these cases the natives become extinct rather than that they are exterminated; but it must be a voluntary self-delusion which can make us contented with this mode of stating the case. A numerous population cannot be cut off from the soil upon which their forefathers lived and multiplied, and upon which an exotic race of recent introduction now proves remarkably prolific, without the operation of some great and highly pernicious influence. Whether we can at once perceive it or not, its existence is incontrovertible, and it becomes the duty of Christian philanthropists, possessing the means, to seek it out, and to labour to apply if possible a prompt and efficient remedy.

For centuries the slave-trade had brought thousands of the sons of Africa to an untimely death, and devoted many thousands more to all the horrors of slavery; but whilst Africa

and the western world, as well as the intervening ocean, were thus rendered the scenes of the most revolting atrocities which human nature could perpetrate, the inhabitants of this country were generally ignorant of those events, and were consequently, regardless of the sufferings which their commerce and their luxuries occasioned. By degrees attention was awakened, all the iniquities of that infamous traffic in its various ramifications were brought to light, and the apathy of ignorance was succeeded by that almost universal expression of popular feeling which has already performed so much for the suppression of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery, and which promises never to become extinct until the work be completed.

The sufferings of those uncivilized races, whom the civilized and nominally Christian world have sacrificed, rather than enslaved, to gratify their avarice, have in the mean time been almost totally disregarded. The inquiry which the Committee of the House of Commons has instituted, has clearly ascertained several of the causes which have concurred in producing them. In many instances the Aborigines have been reduced by wanton and wholesale murders. In some, the land which supplied them with the means of subsistence, and their corn and cattle, where they had acquired such possessions, have been taken from them. Sometimes they have been made the victims of the cruelty of other uncivilized tribes, whom our countrymen have supplied with means for invading and exterminating them. In many instances they have been injured in their property and dearest connexions, and then have paid the forfeit of their lives, when they have attempted retaliation or defence. Loathsome and fatal diseases have been introduced amongst those tribes which have shown a willingness to enter into amicable relations with our countrymen; and the diminution of their numbers which has followed has been scarcely less awful than that which has been occasioned by famine and the sword. But even the introduction of these diseases, which have caused such abundant calamities has been a less prolific source of evil than the intoxicating

liquors which have been given them in exchange for their valuable commodities. Ardent spirits, which have corrupted their morals, ruined their constitutions, and reduced whole tribes to the lowest state of wretchedness and degradation, have been made the means of carrying on a trading system of the most fraudulent description.

From the wide extent over which these transactions have been perpetrated, and from the character and situation of the individuals who have in most instances been engaged as actors, it is obvious that great difficulties must stand in the way of coming at the whole truth respecting them; greater in fact than those which it required all the courage and perseverance of the early advocates of the African cause to overcome. Still much may be done, if a general interest in the cause can be excited. The perishing races of uncivilized man present claims similar to those of the victims of the slave-trade and slavery;—and with this additional feature in their case,——they are rapidly disappearing before us; and whilst we hesitate to plead their cause, they cease to exist, and we shall inquire after them in vain.

It may not be amiss to remind Friends, that although the whole class of Aborigines to whom the preceding observations apply, loudly call for our sympathy and regard, the Aborigines of North America possess a claim of a strong and peculiar character upon our religious Society. It was with them that William Penn held that memorable treaty, in which he set an example to all succeeding colonists, in purchasing the land of its native and legitimate possessors, after having already received or purchased it from his own government. In that treaty William Penn and the Indians mutually promised each other a friendship and alliance which should continue as long as the sun and moon endure. William Penn followed up the professions which he made at that treaty, by enacting laws, not merely securing to them equal rights and protection with his imported colonists, but providing against their becoming sufferers from unfair dealing, in consequence of their inferiority in knowledge and ac-

quirements. The Indians, on their part, treated the members of our society very differently from other settlers, not only refraining from offering them any injury, but preserving their lives by supplying them with food, when they had no resources of their own to trust to.* Although the regulations enacted by William Penn, and maintained by Friends whilst the government of Pennsylvania remained with them, have been set aside since it has passed into other hands, the Indians have not ceased to maintain inviolate the friendship which they promised; and, notwithstanding the desperation produced by the horrors of war and the ruined state of their affairs, occasioned, as they well knew, by the conduct of the whites, they have not ceased to distinguish the consistent members of our Society, protecting them from injury, regarding them as brothers, and looking up to them for counsel and assistance. When William Penn's treaty was concluded, our early Friends received great advantages from it: the time has long passed since Friends had anything to hope or to fear from their red brethren, and it is now the Indians' turn to claim *all* the advantages which a treaty they have never violated, and friendship repeatedly assured to them, entitle them to expect. If it be due to them from our American fellow-members, whose forefathers were preserved by Indian kindness and hospitality; it may also be considered as in degree due from our Society in this country, as parts of the same religious body, and regarded by the Indians as one family. And, besides, with reference to the Indians within the Canadian frontier, it is manifest that if anything can be done by Friends, it must be done mainly, if not solely, by the exertions of Friends in England. A double advantage may be looked for from our exertions in this cause. First, that which may be immediately gained by Canadian Indians; and, secondly, that to be obtained by the indirect influence which may be extended to those of the Aborigines more immediately connected with our American brethren. How can

* See Clarkson's Life of William Penn, vol i. p. 357.

we encourage our Friends in any of the American Yearly Meetings, who have already devoted so much labour and pains to the subject, if we neglect the comparatively limited portion of the work which falls to our hands? Friends in America have had extraordinary difficulties to contend with, in consequence of the repeated removals effected by the policy of their government: removals which have broken up every settlement under their care as soon as the happy fruits of their instruction began to appear. The relation of such disappointments has for many years formed a conspicuous part of our correspondence with American meetings on this painfully interesting topic. If anything can now be effected by our American brethren, it must be either by individuals engaged in a most arduous work, by which they must in general be separated many hundred miles, and for a length of time from their connexions, or by remonstrances with a government which has hitherto shown no disposition to recede from this destructive policy.

The Report from which the following extracts are taken contains less information on the subject of the North American Indians than we could have wished to find in it; but some steps have been taken by the Committee, appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings, to obtain from Friends in Canada more full and accurate information respecting those Indians who have been or are intended to be removed by the agents of our Government. Two members of the Committee have also had an interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonial department, in reference to the treatment of the Indians within the limits of Upper Canada; and particularly to the highly objectionable project of the Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, for removing them from their valuable settlements and reservations to the small rocky islands in Lake Huron, and other districts further to the north-west.* Although the Friends were assured that Go-

* The following is the substance of the information laid before Friends, at the time of the last Yearly Meeting, on this part of the subject; and it is thought that advantage may arise from re-stating it here.

vernment would pay attention to the subject, and endeavour to see the rights of the Indians respected, the fact, that measures have actually been taken to effect some of these removals, and transfer the reservations to other hands makes it but too evident that greater exertions and renewed appeals must be made, if any effectual advantage is to be obtained for the Aborigines in that quarter.

It is a great satisfaction to find that the cause of this oppressed people is now obtaining the active support of the Wesleyan Methodists in that colony.

In a letter from a member of that connexion, in Upper

It appears that, in reference to the North American Indians in Upper Canada and the adjoining territories, a process is now going forward, very similar to that which has, for a long course of years, been pursued by the United States towards the Indians on their frontier. The Indians are induced by persuasion to abandon, almost for nothing, their richest and most valuable tracts of land, (including their settlements, and the plots which have been brought under culture through the instructions of the different missionaries,) and to fall back upon districts incapable of supporting them for any long time by the chace, and greatly inferior to their old settlements for the purposes of civilized life.

The obvious motive with the executive government of Canada, for adopting this line of policy towards the Indians, is to please the white settlers around them, who complain that the Indians have all the best land in the country, and evidently wish to turn them out and take possession of it for themselves.

It appears that in the course of one year only, (1836,) the governor of Upper Canada induced the Chippeway, Ottaway, Sauger, and Huron tribes to abandon very extensive and valuable tracts of land almost without any equivalent. The Saugers, without even the pretence of a remuneration, voluntarily ceded one million five hundred thousand acres of the very best land in Upper Canada, advantageously situated, adjoining the land of the Canada Company. The Ottaways and Chippeways also, without any compensation, abandoned a vast number of islands in the northern parts of Lake Huron. The Huron tribe relinquished 6 miles square of rich land in the Thames River, in consideration of the proceeds of one-third being invested for their benefit. The Moravian Indians also, for an annuity of £150 abandoned 6 miles square of black rich land, on which there are considerable improvements and cultivated spots. And it may be remarked, in general, and more especially with reference to the two last tracts of

Canada, dated "the 26th of Sept., 1837," and addressed to one of the Committee, the following statement occurs :—

"Two days after my arrival I met all my brethren in the ministry at our annual meeting, in the proceeding and conclusion of which, we were of one mind and one heart. Among other things, we adopted a strong memorial to the Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, on the subject of the Indian Lands and Missions, and which was some days afterwards presented to him. The Superintendent of Missions is now visiting the different stations to get the fullest information from the Indians, in writing under their own hands; and we shall, in a short time, meet Sir Francis in a manner that he does not expect."

For several reasons the larger portion of the following Extracts relates to the Aborigines of South Africa. The details furnished by Dr. Philip and other important witnesses, are particularly explicit and full. They exhibit in the clearest manner the operation of most of the causes which have concurred to bring this distress and destruction upon the Aborigines of a colonized country. They show how far the

territory, that they are not merely hunting-grounds, but, to a certain extent at least, regions in which civilization and agriculture have made some progress.

It is further proposed by the Governor to remove all these different tribes to the islands in Lake Huron, ceded (as before mentioned) to the British Government by the Chippeways and Ottaways—a measure which is manifestly calculated to defeat every hope of improving their condition, or even of preserving the actual state of those who are in any degree civilized. Many of these islands are sterile spots: granite rock covered with timber, of but little value for any purposes except hunting and fishing. Their extent varies from a few yards square to 15 miles. They are, moreover, situated so far to the north-west, that it is very doubtful whether Indian corn could be raised, even on such as might be sufficiently fertile; and should the attempt to raise this crop fail, the probable result will be incalculable suffering, and even famine itself. Yet is the permission to the several tribes of Indians to locate themselves on these islands (which have been ceded by two of the tribes) the only provision offered to the Indians, besides the small pittance of £150 a year and one-third of the proceeds of the land ceded by the Huron Indians.

Government agents themselves are led by profligate and designing settlers to give strength and activity to the most unjust and revolting measures; and moreover they exhibit in a most encouraging manner the good which may be effected by persevering and well-directed efforts, unchecked by opposition and persecution, provided ample and authentic details can be perseveringly brought under the notice of our Government. We may further learn from what has been done in Southern Africa how much the combined influence of Christianity and civilization can effect for the security as well as amelioration of the oppressed heathen. The case of the Caffres and Hottentots furnishes a bright example, as well as much encouragement to all those who may be willing to undertake the cause of other portions of the human race similarly circumstanced.

Other extracts are given having the same tendency, and showing how much the experience of those who have laboured with uncivilized tribes of various races, and in various situations, sanctions our looking for great and satisfactory results from a well-conducted combination of religious instruction, intellectual cultivation, and the introduction of the useful arts. These encouraging examples are furnished by the exertions of those belonging to other religious denominations; and although we, as a Society, do not send out teachers appointed to preach to the Heathen, we may not unprofitably put the question to ourselves, Whether we are performing all which it is our duty to do for the temporal and spiritual welfare of our oppressed and benighted fellow-creatures, in the different modes which our principles would not only sanction but enjoin.

In conclusion, we would invite the co-operation of Friends individually, and more especially direct their attention to the following points:—

The collection and diffusion of information on the subject;

The pressing on the attention of members of Parliament, colonial officers, and other persons of influence, the wrongs and claims of the injured Aborigines of our distant colonies;

The promoting, through suitable channels, the civil, moral, and religious welfare of these, our uncivilized fellow-men, equally with ourselves, the objects of Christian redemption, but many of whom are still involved in great spiritual darkness, as well as temporal misery.

For further information on the subject, the Committee may refer Friends to the Report itself from which the following extracts are taken, and an edition of which has been published by the Aborigines' Protection Society, (London: William Ball, Aldine Chambers, Paternoster Row; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly,) and to the several volumes of evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons, and published amongst the Parliamentary Papers.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE "appointed to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the NATIVE INHABITANTS of Countries where BRITISH SETTLEMENTS are made, and to the neighbouring Tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice and the protection of their Rights; to promote the spread of Civilization among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion;" and to whom the Report of the Committee of 1836 was referred; and who were empowered to report their Observations thereupon, together with the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, to The House;——Have examined the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following REPORT:

THE situation of Great Britain brings her beyond any other power into communication with the uncivilized nations of the earth. We are in contact with them in so many parts of the globe, that it has become of deep importance to ascertain the results of our relations with them, and to fix the rules of our conduct towards them. We are apt to class them under the sweeping term of savages, and perhaps, in so doing, to consider ourselves exempted from the obligations due to them as our fellow-men. This assumption does not however, it is obvious, alter our responsibility; and the question appears momentous, when we consider that the policy of Great Britain in this particular, as it has already affected the interests, and we fear we may add, sacrificed the lives, of many thousands, may yet, in all probability, influence the character and the destiny of millions of the human race.

The extent of the question will be best comprehended by taking a survey of the globe, and by observing over how much of its surface an intercourse with Britain may become the greatest blessing, or the heaviest scourge. It will scarcely be denied in word, that, as an enlightened and Christian people, we are at least bound to do to the inhabitants of other lands, whether enlightened or not, as we should in similar circumstances desire to be done by; but, beyond the obligations of common honesty, we are bound by two considerations with regard to the uncivilized: first, that of the ability which we possess to confer upon them the most important benefits; and, secondly, that of their inability to resist any encroachments, however unjust, however mischievous, which we may be disposed to make. The disparity of the parties, the strength of the one, and the incapacity of the other, to enforce the observance of their rights, constitutes a new and irresistible appeal to our compassionate protection.

The duty of introducing into our relations with uncivilized nations the righteous and the profitable laws of justice is incontro-

vertible, and it has been repeatedly acknowledged in the abstract, but has, we fear, been rarely brought into practice; for, as a nation, we have not hesitated to invade many of the rights which they hold most dear.

Thus, while Acts of Parliament have laid down the general principles of equity, other and conflicting Acts have been framed, disposing of lands without any reference to the possessors and actual occupants, and without making any reserve of the proceeds of the property of the natives for their benefit.

Reference is then made to several declarations of the British Government, both in former and more modern times, proclaiming in terms a more just and Christian course of procedure towards the Aborigines.

In furtherance of these views, your Committee was appointed to examine into the actual state of our relations with uncivilized nations; and it is from the evidence brought before this Committee during the last two Sessions, that we are enabled to compare our actions with our avowed principles, and to show what has been, and what will assuredly continue to be, unless strongly checked, the course of our conduct towards these defenceless people.

It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

Too often, their territory has been usurped; their property seized; their numbers diminished; their character debased; the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, viz. brandy and gunpowder.

It will be only too easy to make out the proof of all these assertions which may be established solely by the evidence above referred to. It will be easy also to show that the result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interest as to our duty; that our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and amount of loss.

On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show by inference, and even to prove, by the results of some few experiments of an opposite course of conduct, that setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy, more friendly and just towards the natives, would materially contribute to promote the civil and commercial interests of Great Britain.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the population of the less civilized nations, liable to be influenced for good or for evil, by contact and intercourse with the more civilized nations of the earth. It would appear that the barbarous regions likely to be more imme-

diately affected by the policy of Great Britain, are the south and the west of Africa, Australia, the islands in the Pacific Ocean, a very extensive district of South America at the back of our Essequibo settlement, between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, with the immense tract which constitutes the most northerly part of the American continent, and stretches from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

These are countries in which we have either planted colonies, or which we frequent for the purposes of traffic, and it is our business to inquire on what principles we have conducted our intercourse.

It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil: a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country.

"If they have been found upon their own property, they have been treated as thieves and robbers. They are driven back into the interior as if they were dogs or kangaroos."

From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting-grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

To take a review of our colonies, beginning with Newfoundland. There, as in other parts of North America, it seems to have been for a length of time accounted a "meritorious act" to kill an Indian.*

On our first visit to that country the natives were seen in every part of the coast. We occupied the stations where they used to hunt and fish, thus reducing them to want, while we took no trou-

* Cotton Mather records, that, amongst the early settlers, it was considered a "religious act to kill Indians."

A similar sentiment prevailed amongst the Dutch boors in South Africa with regard to the natives of the country. Mr. Barrow writes, "A farmer thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaf Reinet being asked in the secretary's office, a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous, or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near 300 of these unfortunate wretches."

ble to indemnify them, so that doubtless many of them perished by famine; we also treated them with hostility and cruelty, and "many were slain by our own people as well as by the Micmac Indians," who were allowed to harass them. They must, however, have been recently very numerous, since in one place Captain Buchan found they had "run up fences to the extent of 30 miles," with a variety of ramifications, for the purpose of conducting the deer down to the water, a work which would have required the labour of a multitude of hands.

It does not appear that any measures were taken to open a communication with them before the year 1810, when, by order of Sir J. Duckworth, an attempt was made by Captain Buchan which proved ineffectual. At that time he conceived that their numbers around their chief place of resort, the Great Lake, were reduced to 400 or 500. Under our treatment they continued rapidly to diminish; and it appears probable that the last of the tribe left at large, a man and a woman, were shot by two Englishmen in 1823. Three women had been taken prisoners shortly before, and they died in captivity. In the colony of Newfoundland it may therefore be stated that we have exterminated the natives.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The general account of our intercourse with the North American Indians, as distinct from missionary efforts, may be given in the words of a converted Chippeway chief, in a letter to Lord Goderich: "We were once very numerous, and owned all Upper Canada, and lived by hunting and fishing; but the white men, who came to trade with us, taught our fathers to drink the fire-waters, which has made our people poor and sick, and has killed many tribes, till we have become very small."

It is a curious fact, noticed in the evidence, that some years ago the Indians practised agriculture, and were able to bring corn to our settlements, then suffering from famine; but we, by driving them back and introducing the fur trade, have rendered them so completely a wandering people that they have very much lost any disposition which they might once have felt to settle. All writers on the Indian race have spoken of them in their native barbarism as a noble people, but those who live among civilized men, upon reservations in our own territory, are now represented as "reduced to a state which resembles that of gypsies in this country." Those who live in villages among the whites "are a very degraded race, and look more like dram-drinkers than people it would be possible to get to do any work."

To enter however into a few more particulars. The Indians of New Brunswick are described by Sir H. Douglas, in 1825, as "dwindled in numbers," and in a "wretched condition."

Those of Nova Scotia, the Micmacs (by Sir J. Kempt,) as disinclined to settle, and in the habit of bartering their furs, "unhappily for rum."

General Darling's statement as to the Indians of the Canadas, drawn up in 1828, speaks of the interposition of the Government being urgently called for in behalf of the helpless individuals whose landed possessions, where they have any assigned to them, are daily plundered by their designing and more enlightened white brethren.

Of the Algonquins and Nipissings, General Darling writes, "Their situation is becoming alarming, by the rapid settlement and improvement of the lands on the banks of the Ottawa, on which they were placed by Government in the year 1763, and which tract they have naturally considered as their own. The result of the present state of things is obvious, and such as can scarcely fail in time to be attended with bloodshed and murder; for, driven from their own resources, they will naturally trespass on those of other tribes, who are equally jealous of the intrusion of their red brethren as of white men. Complaints on this head are increasing daily, while the threats and admonitions of the officers of the department have been insufficient to control the unruly spirit of the savage, who, driven by the calls of hunger and the feelings of nature towards his offspring, will not be scrupulous in invading the rights of his brethren, as a means of alleviating his misery, when he finds the example in the conduct of his White Father's children practised, as he conceives, towards himself."

The General also speaks of the "degeneracy" of the Iroquois, and of the degraded condition of most of the other tribes, with the exception of those only who had received Christian instruction. Later testimony is to the same effect. The Rev. J. Beecham, Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, says he has conversed with the Chippeway chief above referred to, on the condition of the Indians on the boundary of Upper Canada. That he stated most unequivocally that previously to the introduction of Christianity they were rapidly wasting away; and he believed that, if it had not been for the introduction of Christianity, they would speedily have become extinct. As to the causes of this waste of Indian life, he mentioned the decrease of the game, the habit of intoxication, and the European diseases. The small-pox had made great ravages. He adds, "The information which I have derived from this chief has been confirmed by our missionaries stationed in Upper Canada, and who are now employed among the Indian tribes on the borders of that province. My inquiries have led me to believe, that where Christianity has not been introduced among the aboriginal inhabitants of Upper Canada, they are melting away before the advance of the white population. This remark applies to the Six Nations, as they are called, on the Great River, the Mohawks, Onedias, Onondages, Senecas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras, as well as to all the other tribes

on the borders of the province." Of the ulterior tribes, the account given by Mr. King, who accompanied Capt. Back in his late Arctic expedition, is deplorable; he gives it as his opinion, that the Northern Indians have decreased greatly, and "decidedly from contact with the Europeans."

Thus, the Cree Indians, once a powerful tribe, "have now degenerated into a few families, congregated about the European establishments, while some few still retain their ancient rights, and have become partly allies of a tribe of Indians that were once their slaves." He supposes their numbers to have been reduced within 30 or 40 years from 8,000 or 10,000 to 200, or at most 300, and has no doubt of the remnant being extirpated in a short time, if no measures are taken to improve their morals and to cultivate habits of civilization. It should be observed that this tribe had access to posts not comprehended within the Hudson's Bay Company's prohibition, as to the introduction of spirituous liquors, and that they miserably show the effects of the privilege.

The Copper Indians also, through ill-management, intemperance and vice, are said to have decreased within the last five years to one half the number of what they were.

The early quarrels between the Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies, in which the Indians were induced to take a bloody part, furnished them with a ruinous example of the savageness of Christians. Mr. Pelly, the chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company has, however, assured your Committee, that many of the evils caused by the rivalry of the two companies have been removed by their junction, and that the present directors are well disposed to promote the welfare of the Indians: yet we observe, that the witness above quoted, Mr. King, who has travelled in the country, is of opinion, that even our system of peaceable trade has a tendency to become injurious to these people, by encouraging them in improvident habits, which frequently bring large parties of them to utter destitution and to death by starvation.

But whatever may be the actual condition of the Indians at the present moment, on which subject there appears to be some diversity of testimony, we entirely concur in the wisdom, the humanity, and the right feeling which dictated the following paragraph:—

It appears to me that the course which has hitherto been taken in dealing with these people has had reference to the advantages which might be derived from their friendship in times of war, rather than to any settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life. Under the peculiar circumstances of the times, it may have been originally difficult to pursue a more enlightened course of policy; the system may, perhaps, have been persisted in by the Home and Colonial Governments rather as a matter of routine than upon any well considered grounds of preference, whilst, on the part of the Indians themselves, there is no doubt that its accordance with their natural propensities and with their long established

habits rendered it more acceptable to them than any other, nor is it unlikely that, if on the one hand there existed a disposition in the aboriginal inhabitants to cling to their original habits and mode of life, there was a proneness also in the occupants of America to regard the natives as an irreclaimable race, and as inconvenient neighbours, whom it was desirable ultimately wholly to remove. Whatever may have been the reasons which have hitherto recommended an adherence to the present system, I am satisfied that it ought not to be persisted in for the future; and that so enlarged a view of the nature of our connexions with the Indian tribes should be taken as may lead to the adoption of proper measures for their future preservation and improvement; whilst, at the same time, the obligations of moral duty and sound policy should not be lost sight of.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In South America, British Guiana occupies a large extent of country between the rivers Orinoco and Amazons, giving access to numbers of tribes of Aborigines who wander over the vast regions of the interior. The Indian population within the colony Demerara and Essequibo, is derived from four nations, the Caribs, Arawacks, Warrows, and Accaways.

It is acknowledged that they have been diminishing ever since the Brtish came into possession of the colony. In 1831 they were computed at 5,096; and it is stated "it is the opinion of old inhabitants of the colony, and those most competent to judge, that a considerable diminution has taken place in the aggregate number of the Indians of late years, and that the diminution, although gradual, has become more sensibly apparent within the last eight or ten years." The diminution is attributed, in some degree, to the increased use of rum amongst them.

There are in the colony six gentlemen bearing the title of "Protectors of Indians," whose office it is to superintend the tribes, and under them are placed Post-holders, a principal part of whose business it is to keep the Negroes from resorting to the Indians, and also to attend the distribution of the presents which are given to the latter by the British Government, of which, as was noticed with reprehension by Lord Goderich, rum formed a part.

It does not appear that anything has been done by Government for their moral or religious improvement, excepting the grant in 1831, by Sir B. D'Urban, of a piece of land at Point Bartica, where a small establishment was then founded by the Church Missionary Society. The Moravian Mission on the Courantin was given up in 1817; and it does not appear that any other Protestant Society has attended to these Indians.

In 1831 Lord Goderich writes, "I have not heard of any effort to convert the Indians of British Guiana to Christianity, or to impart to them the arts of social life."

It should be observed that no injunctions to communicate either are given in the instructions for the "Protectors of Indians," or in

those for the Post-holders; and two of the articles of the latter, (Art. 14 and Art. 15,) tend directly to sanction and encourage immorality. All reports agree in stating that these tribes have been almost wholly neglected, are retrograding, and are without provision for their moral or civil advancement; and with due allowance for the extenuating remarks on the poor account to which they turned their lands, when they had them, and the gifts (baneful gifts some of them) which have been distributed, and on the advantage of living under British laws, we must still concur in the sentiment of Lord Goderich, as expressed in the same letter, upon a reference as to sentence of death passed upon a native Indian for the murder of another. "It is a serious consideration that we have subjected these tribes to the penalties of a code of which they unavoidably live in profound ignorance; they have not even that conjectural knowledge of its provisions which would be suggested by the precepts of religion, if they had even received the most elementary instruction in the Christian faith. They are brought into acquaintance with civilized life, not to partake its blessings, but only to feel the severity of its penal sanctions.

"A debt is due to the aboriginal inhabitants of British Guiana of a very different kind from that which the inhabitants of Christendom may, in a certain sense, be said to owe in general to other barbarous tribes. The whole territory which has been occupied by Europeans, on the Northern shores of the South American Continent, has been acquired by no other right than that of superior power; and I fear that the natives whom we have dispossessed, have to this day received no compensation for the loss of the lands on which they formerly subsisted. However urgent is the duty of economy in every branch of the public service, it is impossible to withhold from the natives of the country the inestimable benefit which they would derive from appropriating to their religious and moral instruction some moderate part of that income which results from the culture of the soil to which they or their fathers had an indisputable title."

CARIBS.

Of the Caribs, the native inhabitants of the West Indies, we need not speak, as of them little more remains than the tradition that they once existed.*

NEW HOLLAND.

The inhabitants of New Holland, in their original condition,

* When these islands were first discovered by Columbus, the inhabitants were very numerous; and even when by a treaty between the French and English, in 1660, they were confined to the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent, they amounted to not less than 6000 persons. —See Encycl. Britannica, Art. Caribee Islands.

have been described by travellers as the most degraded of the human race; but it is to be feared that intercourse with Europeans has cast over their original debasement a yet deeper shade of wretchedness.

These people, unoffending as they were towards us, have, as might have been expected, suffered in an aggravated degree from the planting amongst them of our penal settlements. In the formation of these settlements it does not appear that the territorial rights of the natives were considered, and very little care has since been taken to protect them from the violence or the contamination of the dregs of our countrymen.

The effects have consequently been dreadful beyond example, both in the diminution of their numbers and in their demoralization.

Many deeds of murder and violence have undoubtedly been committed by the stock-keepers (convicts in the employ of farmers in the outskirts of the colony,) by the cedar- cutters, and by other remote free settlers, and many natives have perished by the various military parties sent against them; but it is not to violence only that their decrease is ascribed. This is the evidence given by Bishop Broughton: "They do not so much retire as decay; whenever Europeans meet with them they appear to wear out, and gradually to decay: they diminish in numbers; they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth. I am led to apprehend that within a very limited period, a few years," (adds the Bishop,) "those who are most in contact with Europeans will be utterly extinct—I will not say exterminated—but they will be extinct."

As to their moral condition, the Bishop says of the natives around Sydney, "They are in a state which I consider one of extreme degradation and ignorance; they are, in fact, in a situation much inferior to what I supposed them to have been before they had any communication with Europe." And again, in his charge, "It is an awful, it is even an appalling consideration, that, after an intercourse of nearly half a century with a Christian people, these hapless human beings continue to this day in their original benighted and degraded state. I may even proceed farther, so far as to express my fears that our settlement in their country has even deteriorated a condition of existence, than which, before our interference, nothing more miserable could easily be conceived. While, as the contagion of European intercourse has extended itself among them, they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours."

The natives about Sydney and Paramatta are represented as in a state of wretchedness still more deplorable than those resident in the interior.

"Those in the vicinity of Sydney are so completely changed, they scarcely have the same pursuits now; they go about the streets begging their bread, and begging for clothing and rum. From the

diseases introduced among them, the tribes in immediate connection with those large towns almost became extinct; not more than two or three remained, when I was last in New South Wales, of tribes which formerly consisted of 200 or 300."

Dr. Laing, the minister of the Scotch church, writes, "From the prevalence of infanticide, from intemperance and from European diseases, their number is evidently and rapidly diminishing in all the older settlements of the colony, and in the neighbourhood of Sydney especially, they present merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes." Yet even now "he thinks their number within the limits of the colony of New South Wales cannot be less than 10,000: an indication of what must once have been the population, and what the destruction. It is only, Dr. Laing observes, through the influence of Christianity, brought to bear upon the natives by the zealous exertions of devoted missionaries, that the progress of extinction can be checked."

The case of these people has not been wholly overlooked at home. In 1825 His Majesty issued instructions to the Governor to the effect that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their possessions, preserved from violence and injustice, and that measures should be taken for their conversion to the Christian faith, and their advancement in civilization. An allowance has been made to the Church Missionary Society in their behalf, and efforts for their amelioration have been made, and attended with some degree of utility; but much as we rejoice in this act of justice, we still must express our conviction that if we are ever able to make atonement to the remnant of this people, it will require no slight attention, and no ordinary sacrifices on our part to compensate the evil association which we have inflicted; but even hopelessness of making reparation for what is past would not in any way lessen our obligation to stop, as far as in us lies, the continuance of iniquity. "The evil," said Mr. Coates, "resulting from immoral intercourse between the Europeans and the Aborigines, is so enormous that it appears to my mind a moral obligation on the local Government to take any practicable measures in order to put an end to it."

In this opinion the Committee entirely concur.

A new colony is about to be established in South Australia, and it deserves to be placed upon record, that Parliament, as lately as August 1834, passed an Act disposing of the lands of this country without once adverting to the native population. With this remarkable exception, we have had satisfaction in observing the preliminary measures for the formation of this settlement, which appears, if we may judge from the Report of the Colonial Commissioners, likely to be undertaken in a better spirit than any such enterprises that have come before our notice. The Commissioners acknowledge that it is "a melancholy fact, which admits of no dispute, and which cannot be too deeply deplored, that the native tribes of Australia have hitherto been exposed to injustice and

cruelty in their intercourse with Europeans;" and they lay down certain regulations to remedy these evils in the proposed settlement.*

On the western coast of Australia collisions have not unfrequently taken place between the colonists and the natives. * * * *

We find the natives on the Murray River mentioned as amongst the most troublesome in this quarter; and in the summer of the year 1834 they murdered a British soldier, having in the course of the previous five years killed three other persons. In the month of October 1834 Sir James Stirling, the Governor, proceeded with a party of horse to the Murray River, in search of the tribe in question. On coming up with them, it appears that the British horse charged this tribe without any parley, and killed fifteen of them, not, as it seems, confining their vengeance to the actual murderers. After the rout, the women who had been taken prisoners were dismissed, having been informed, "that the punishment had been inflicted because of the misconduct of the tribe; that the white men never forget to punish murder; that on this occasion the women and children had been spared; but if any other person should be killed by them, not one would be allowed to remain on this side of the mountains."

However needful it may be to overawe the natives from committing acts of treachery, we cannot understand the principle of such indiscriminate punishment, nor approve of threats extending to the destruction of women and children. * * * *

We are however happy to learn that, in his general policy, Sir James Stirling has pursued conciliatory measures towards the neighbouring tribes, and that measures are in progress for effecting their civilization.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

The natives of Van Diemen's Land, first, it appears, provoked by the British colonists, whose early atrocities, and whose robberies of their wives and children, excited a spirit of indiscriminate vengeance, became so dangerous, thoroughly diminished to a very small number, that their remaining in their own country was deemed incompatible with the safety of the settlement.

---

* Had such a course of conciliation been followed in the establishing of the colony at Raffles Bay, on the northern shore of Australia, it is probable that the "hostility of the natives" would never have been among the reasons for the abandonment of that settlement. It is said, that on the trifling offence of the theft of an axe, the sentinels were ordered to fire at the natives whenever they approached. Captain Barker, in command when the order came for the abandonment of the settlement, had pursued a different course, and had won their confidence; and, it is said, that, far from being such "untameable savages as originally represented, they proved themselves to be a mild and merciful race of people."—*See* Wilson's Voyage.

In their case, it must be remembered, the strongest desire was felt by the Government at home, and responded to by the local Governor, to protect and conciliate them; and yet, such was the unfortunate nature of our policy, and the circumstances into which it had brought us, that no better expedient could be devised than the catching and expatriating of the whole of the native population. There is no doubt that the outrages of the Aborigines were fearful; but while the local "Aborigines' Committee," in 1831, who recommended the removal, speak of the "forbearance" exercised both by the Government and the greater part of the community, they state that there is the "strongest feeling amongst the settlers, that so long as the natives have only land to traverse, so long will life and every thing valuable to them be kept in a state of jeopardy;" and they intimate their fear that if the measure recommended be not adopted, "the result will be that the whites will individually or in small bodies take violent steps against the Aborigines, a proceeding which they cannot contemplate the possibility of without horror; but which, they do believe, has many supporters in this colony:" they therefore urge the removal under the "persuasion that such a measure alone will have the effect of preventing the calamities which His Majesty's subjects have for so long a period suffered, and of preventing the entire destruction of the Aborigines themselves."

The Governor Colonel Arthur's words on the subject are these: "Undoubtedly the being reduced to the necessity of driving a simple, but warlike, and, as it now appears, noble-minded race from their native hunting-grounds, is a measure in itself so distressing, that I am willing to make almost any prudent sacrifice that may tend to compensate for the injuries that the Government is unwillingly and unavoidably made the instrument of inflicting."

The removal accordingly proceeded under the management of Mr. Robinson; (which is described by Colonel Arthur as able and humane) and in September 1834 it was so nearly effected, that the Governor writes thus: "The whole of the aboriginal inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land (excepting four persons) are now domiciliated, with their own consent, on Flinder's Island."

From still later reports it appears that not a single native now remains upon Van Diemen's Land. Thus, nearly, has the event been accomplished which was thus predicted and deprecated by Sir G. Murray:—

The great decrease which has of late years taken place in the amount of the aboriginal population, render it not unreasonable to apprehend that the whole race of these people may at no distant period become extinct. But with whatever feelings such an event may be looked forward to by those of the settlers who have been sufferers by the collisions which have taken place, it is impossible not to contemplate such a result of our occupation of the island as one very difficult to be reconciled with feelings of humanity, or even with principles of justice and sound policy; and the adoption of any line of

conduct, having for its avowed or secret object the extinction of the native race, could not fail to leave an indelible stain upon the British Government.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

We next turn our view to those islands in the Pacific Ocean to which we resort for purposes of traffic, without having planted colonies upon them; and again we must repeat our belief that our penal colonies have been the inlet of incalculable mischief to this whole quarter of the world. It will be hard, we think, to find compensation not only to Australia, but to New Zealand and to the innumerable islands of the South Seas, for the murders, the misery, the contamination which we have brought upon them. Our runaway convicts are the pests of savage as well as of civilized society; so are our runaway sailors; and the crews of our whaling vessels, and of the traders from New South Wales, too frequently act in the most reckless and immoral manner when at a distance from the restraints of justice: in proof of this we need only refer to the evidence of the missionaries.

It is stated that there have been not less than 150 or 200 runaways at once on the island of New Zealand, counteracting all that was done for the moral improvement of the people, and teaching them every vice. * * * *

The lawless conduct of the crews of vessels must necessarily have an injurious effect on our trade, and on that ground alone demands investigation. In the month of April 1834, Mr. Busby states there were 29 vessels at one time in the Bay of Islands, and that seldom a day passed without some complaint being made to him of the most outrageous conduct on the part of their crews, which he had not the means of repressing, since these reckless seamen totally disregarded the usages of their own country and the unsupported authority of the British resident.

Till lately the tattooed heads of New Zealanders were sold at Sydney as objects of curiosity; and Mr. Yate says he has known people give property to a chief for the purpose of getting them to kill their slaves, that they might have some heads to take to New South Wales. * * * *

The Committee next advert to the pernicious effects of the crews of merchant vessels upon the natives.

The Rev. J. Williams, missionary in the Society Islands, states "that it is the common sailors, and the lowest order of them, the very vilest of the whole, who will leave their ship and go to live amongst the savages, and take with them all their low habits and all their vices." The captains of merchant vessels are apt to con-

nive at the absconding of such worthless sailors, and the atrocities perpetrated by them are excessive; they do incalculable mischief by circulating reports injurious to the interests of trade. On an island between the Navigator's and the Friendly group, he heard there were on one occasion 100 sailors who had run away from shipping. Mr. Williams gives an account of a gang of convicts who stole a small vessel from New South Wales, and came to Raiatia, one of the Sandwich Islands, where he resided, representing themselves as shipwrecked marines. Mr. Williams suspected them, and told them he should inform the Governor, Sir T. Brisbane, of their arrival, on which they went away to an island 20 miles off, and were received with every kindness in the house of the chief. They took an opportunity of stealing a boat belonging to the missionary of the station, and made off again. The natives immediately pursued, and desired them to return their missionary's boat. Instead of replying, they discharged a blunderbuss that was loaded with cooper's rivets, which blew the head of one man to pieces; they then killed two more, and a fourth received the contents of a blunderbuss in his hand, fell from exhaustion amongst his mutilated companions, and was left as dead. This man, and a boy who had saved himself by diving, returned to their island. "The natives were very respectable persons, and had it not been that we were established in the estimation of the people, our lives would have been sacrificed. The convicts then went in the boat down to the Navigator's Islands, and there entered with savage ferocity into the wars of the savages. One of these men was the most savage monster that ever I heard of: he boasted of having killed 300 natives with his own hands." Had Mr. Williams been invested with authority, he could have confined these men on their arrival and prevented their further crimes. * * * *

And in June 1833, Mr. Thomas still speaks of the mischief done by ill-disposed captains of whalers, who, he says, "send the refuse of their crews on shore to annoy us;" and proceeds to state that the conduct of many of those "masters of South Sea whalers is most abominable; they think no more of the life of an heathen than of a dog. And their cruel and wanton behaviour at the different islands in those seas has a powerful tendency to lead the natives to hate the sight of a white man." Mr. Williams mentions "one of those captains, who with his people had shot 20 natives, at one of the islands, for no offence;" and "another master of a whaler from Sydney, made his boast, last Christmas, at Tonga, that he had killed about 20 black fellows,—for so he called the natives of the Samoa, or Navigator's Islands,—for some very trifling offence; and not satisfied with that, he designed to disguise his vessel, and pay them another visit, and get about a hundred more of them." "Our hearts," continues Mr. Thomas, "almost bleed for the poor Samoa people; they are a very mild, inoffensive race, very easy of

access; and as they are near to us, we have great hope of their embracing the truth, viz., that the whole group will do so: for you will learn from Mr. Williams's letter, that a part of them have already turned to God. But the conduct of our English savages has a tone of barbarity and cruelty in it which was never heard of or practised by them."

It is impossible but that such conduct should bring retaliation; and unfortunately the natives do not always discriminate between the innocent and the guilty; so that occasionally crews just arrived are liable to suffer for the misdemeanors of their predecessors. We believe, however, that to almost all of these cases may be applied the declaration made by a missionary respecting some which occurred in New Zealand: "Not one case has ever come under my own observation, never under any circumstances, but what the Europeans have been the aggressors, or have committed some breach in a known New Zealand law; though I will say that the natives have not always punished the right, that is, the offending party."

"We have scarcely ever," says Mr. Ellis, "inquired into a quarrel between the natives and the Europeans in which it has not been found to have originated either in violence towards the females, or in injustice in traffic or barter on the part of the Europeans."

We have felt it our duty to advert to these glaring atrocities, perpetrated by British subjects, but we must repeat that acts of this nature form but the least part of the injuries which we have inflicted on the South Sea islanders. The effects of our violence are as nothing compared to the diffusive knowledge of moral evil which we have introduced; and many as are the lives of natives known to have been sacrificed by the hands of Europeans, the sum of these is treated as bearing but a trifling proportion to the mortality occasioned by the demoralization of the natives. * * * *

On this subject, the moral effect of the intercourse of Europeans in general with these people, savages and cannibals as they were before we visited them, Mr. Williams adds his testimony: "I should say, with few exceptions, that it is decidedly detrimental, both in a moral and civil point of view. And, in attempting to introduce Christianity among a people, I would rather by far go to an island where they had never seen an European, than go to a place after they have had intercourse with Europeans. I had ten times rather meet them in their savage state, than after they have had intercourse with Europeans."

SOUTH AFRICA.

In the beginning of the last century, the European colony in Africa was confined to within a few miles of Cape Town. From that period it has advanced, till it now includes more square miles than are to be found in England, Scotland and Ireland; and with

regard to the natives of great part of this immense region, it is stated, "any traveller who may have visited the interior of this colony little more than 20 years ago, may now stand on the heights of Albany, or in the midst of a district of 42,000 square miles on the north side of Graaff Reinet, and ask the question: Where are the aboriginal inhabitants of this district which I saw here on my former visit to this country, without any one being able to inform him where he is to look for them to find them."

The disappearance of the former possessors of this immense region cannot, indeed, be accounted for in a few sentences, but we will endeavour to give a brief sketch of the fate of some of the tribes who have held possession of South Africa, premising that the Aborigines of this country may be classed under two distinct races, Hottentots and Caffres.

The first are divided into two branches, the "tame" or colonial Hottentots, and the wild Hottentots or Bushmen. To the Hottentots belong the Corannas, Gonaquas and the mixed tribe of Griquas. The appellation Caffres, though sometimes still applied in a more extensive sense, is generally used in the Cape colony to denote the three contiguous tribes of Amakosa, Amatembee and Amaponda. Tambookies is a name the English have given to the Amatembee. Mambookies is our English name for the Amaponda, and the Amakosa comprehend the tribe under the family of Gaika, and who inhabit the country between the Kei and the Keiskamma, and lie nearest to this colony, along the chain of mountains stretching from the sources of the Kat river to the sea.

When the Cape was discovered by the Portuguese, the Hottentots were both numerous and rich in cattle. It was observed of them, that they kept the law of nations better than most civilized people. The Dutch formed their first settlement at the Cape in 1652, and their Governor, Van Reibeck, gives vent in his journal to a very natural sentiment, and one which we fear has been too prevalent with succeeding colonists, when he describes himself as looking from the mud walls of his fortress on the cattle of the natives, and wondering at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts on Heathen.

In the same spirit are the following entries;—

December 18th, 1652.—"To-day the Hottentots came with thousands of cattle and sheep close to our fort, so that their cattle nearly mixed with ours. We feel vexed to see so many head of fine cattle, and not to be able to buy to any considerable extent. If it had been indeed allowed, we had opportunity to-day to deprive them of 10,000 head, which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us. With 150 men, 10,000 or 11,000 head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they still always come to us unarmed."

December 18th.—"To-day the Hottentots came again with thou-

sands of cattle close to the fort. If no further trade is to be expected with them, what would it matter much to take at once 6,000 or 8,000 beasts from them? There is opportunity enough for it, as they are not strong in number, and very timid; and since not more than two or three men often graze a thousand cattle close to our cannon, who might be easily cut off, and as we perceive they place every confidence in us, we allure them still with show of friendship to make them the more confident. It is vexatious to see so much cattle, so necessary for the refreshment of the Honourable Company's ships, of which it is not every day that any can be obtained by friendly trade."

The system of oppression thus begun never slackened till the Hottentot nation were cut [illegible], and the small remnant left were reduced to abject bondage. From all the accounts we have seen respecting the Hottentot population, it could not have been less than 200,000, but at present they are said to be only 32,000 in number.

When the English took possession of the Cape, they found them the actual, though not the nominal, slaves of the boors, and after some feeble efforts on their part for emancipation, as such we suffered the boors to retain them.

The law of passes, by subjecting the Hottentots to "rigorous control in moving from one place to another," did indeed much towards rivetting their chains, as it had the effect of placing them under the control of any inhabitants of the colony, who never wanted frivolous pretexts to detain them at compulsory and unpaid labour.

Every obstacle continued to be opposed to their civil or moral advancement, and as late as 1828, we find it stated in the law passed by General Bourke for their relief, that doubts existed upon the competency of the Hottentots and other free persons of colour (the recent possessors, be it remembered, of the whole soil) to purchase or possess land in the colony.

All parties agree in their account of the state of the Hottentots before the passing of the 50th Ordinance, a measure of admirable justice, by which their freedom was declared and their civil rights were recognised. These are the words of Colonel Wade:—

I do not consider it requisite to enter into any detailed history of the state of utter degradation from which the 50th Ordinance was intended to rescue the Hottentots and other free persons of colour: suffice it to say, that, from all I have been able to learn, the state of the slaves was a thousand times preferable, in every point of view, to that of this unhappy race, who, amounting at the very least to a fourth part of the whole free population of the settlement, were held in the most degrading thraldom by their fellow-subjects, at the same time that both Dutch and English Governments over and over again admitted, and, by the strangest of all inconsistencies, admitted it in the very Proclamations and Ordinances in which the compulsory servitude was provided for, that 'the Hottentots were a free people.' From the withering effects of this bondage (in truth, I know not how

to designate so monstrous an anomaly,) the 50th Ordinance was intended to emancipate them. * * * *

Besides the subjected Hottentots, there were other Africans of the same or of kindred tribes, who were early designated under the term Bushmen, from their disdaining to become bondsmen, and choosing rather to obtain a precarious subsistence in the fields or forests. From their fastnesses, they were apt to carry on a predatory warfare against the oppressors of their race, and in return were hunted down like wild beasts. This state of things is thus described by Captain Stockenstrom: —

The white colonists having, from the first commencement of the settlement, gradually encroached on the territory of the natives, whose ejectment (as is too well known) was accompanied with great injustice, cruelty and bloodshed, the most hostile feelings were entertained by the weaker party towards those whom they considered as their oppressors. The Aborigines who did not become domesticated (as it was called) like the Hottentots, seeing no chance of retaining or recovering their country, withdrew into the interior as the whites advanced, and being driven to depredations by the diminution of the game, which constituted their principal means of subsistence, and which gradually disappeared when more constantly hunted, and as the waters became permanently occupied by the new comers, they often made desperate attacks upon the latter, and in their turn were guilty of great atrocities. Some of the rulers of the colony in those days were, no doubt, favourable to measures of conciliation, but the evil soon got beyond their power of control. In proportion as the pastoral population increased, more and more land was taken possession of, and more desperate and bloody became the deeds of revenge on both sides, until the extermination of the enemy appeared even to the Government the only safe alternative, at least it became its avowed object, as the encouragement given to the hostile expeditions, the rewards of the successful commanders of the same, and many documents still extant clearly demonstrate. The contest being beyond comparison unequal, the colonial limits widened with great rapidity. A thin white population soon spread even over the great chains of the Suven and Newveld mountains, whilst the hordes who preferred a precarious and often starving independence to servitude, were forced into the deserts and fastnesses bordering on the frontier.

It will be at once perceived that I am here alluding to a period of the colonial history not long previous to the close of the last century, and that the Aborigines spoken of are the Bushmen and some tribes of Hottentots, for our relations with the Caffres and others are somewhat of a different nature, as I will show in the sequel. Thus the isolated position of most of the intruders afforded the strongest temptation to the savages occasionally to wreak their vengeance. The numerous herds of our peasantry grazing on the usurped lands proved too seductive a bait for the hungry fugitives, who saw the pasturage of their flocks (the game) thus occupied; but their partial success against individual families was generally dearly bought by the additional loss of life and land in the long run.

In 1774, an order was issued for the extirpation of the whole of

the Bushmen, and three commandos, or military expeditions, were sent out to execute it. The massacre at that time was horrible, and the system of persecution continued unremitting, so that, as we have seen, Mr. Barrow records it came to be considered a meritorious act to shoot a bushman.

In 1795, the Earl of Macartney, by proclamation, authorised the landdrosts and magistrates to take the field against the wild Bosjesmen, whenever such an expedition should appear requisite and proper; a practice to which, in some parts, they needed not much urging; for Mr. Maynier, in his answers to the Commissioners of Inquiry, says, "When I was appointed Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, I found that regularly every year large commandos, consisting of 200 or 300 armed boors, had been sent against the Bosjesmen, and learnt by their reports, that generally many hundred of Bosjesmen were killed by them, amongst which number there were perhaps not more than six or ten men (they generally contriving to save themselves by flight,) and that the greatest part of the killed comprised helpless women and innocent children.

"I was also made acquainted with the most horrible atrocities committed on those occasions, such as ordering the Hottentots to dash out against the rocks the brains of infants (too young to be carried off by the farmers for the purpose to use them as bondmen,) in order to save powder and shot." * * * * *

After a time, we find that a milder system was enjoined, and in some places the Bushmen became the willing herdsmen of the boors, and whenever they were well treated, they are described to have made faithful servants; but the boors were too often tempted to buy or to kidnap their children, and to turn the parents off the lands which they took into occupation; and so completely is the country south of the Orange river now cleared of Bushmen, that in 1834, Dr. Philip wrote in a memorial to the Government,—

* * * * * *

A few years ago, we had 1,800 Boschmen belonging to two missionary institutions, among that people in the country between the Snewbergen and the Orange river, a country comprehending 42,000 square miles; and had we been able to treble the number of our missionary stations over that district, we might have had 5,000 of that people under instruction. In 1832, I spent 17 days in that country, travelling over it in different directions. I then found the country occupied by the boors, and the Boschmen population had disappeared, with the exception of those that had been brought up from infancy in the service of the boors. In the whole of my journey, during the 17 days I was in the country, I met with two men and one woman only of the free inhabitants, who had escaped the effects of the commando system, and they were travelling by night, and concealing themselves by day, to escape being shot like wild beasts. Their tale was a lamentable one; their children had been taken from them by the boors, and they were wandering about in this manner from place to place, in the hope of finding out where they were, and of getting a sight of them. * * *

We proceed to take a brief retrospective review of our relations

with the Caffre race; a people generically distinct from the tribes of Hottentots, Bushmen and Griquas, and superior perhaps, from the effect of circumstances, to the two former in valour and intelligence.

For a considerable period, under the Dutch government, the Gamtoos river had been considered the limit of the colony. Previous to our occupation of the Cape in 1780, the Dutch governor, in a proclamation of that date, fixed upon the Great Fish River as the utmost limit of the colony on the eastern frontier. This, however, was only a restrictive and prospective boundary, as the Caffres were still left in possession of the country, and in 1798 Lord Macartney claiming all that the Dutch assumed as belonging to them by the vague proclamation of Governor Van Plattenberg, this new boundary was declared by a proclamation of his Lordship, in which we find mention of our contiguity to the Caffres. The preamble of this proclamation states, "Whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out respecting the proper boundaries between this colony, the Caffres and the Bosjesmen, and in consequence of such limits not being regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of this settlement have united in injuring the peaceful possessors of those countries, and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing, and various other irregularities in order to support life;" he therefore fixes the Great Fish River as the eastern boundary, and strictly forbids the inhabitants of the colony to pass beyond it.

The terms of this proclamation are remarkable, compared with others, inasmuch as we thereby find that at various times two several reasons have been assigned for taking away land from the Caffres; the one that they make inroads upon us, that they are troublesome neighbours, that we are not safe in their vicinity, we therefore pronounce their land forfeited; the other, as in Lord Macartney's proclamation, that we have been the oppressors, that we have seized their land and reduced the people to be plunderers from starvation, we therefore pronounce their land forfeited. It is singular that from such diversity of premises such an uniformity of conclusion should have been deduced.

After the return of the English to the Cape in 1806, disputes were continually occurring, and in 1811 the Caffres were driven completely out of the Zuurveld. "Up to 1811," says Captain Aitchison, "the Caffres had possession of the whole Albany. In 1811, a large force was sent from Cape Town under Colonel Graham, and were about a year in clearing that country. A great many lives were lost on both sides."

The same witness states the process of clearing to have been by "merely sending in small detachments, and constantly harassing the Caffres."

The cost of this war of 1811, which was protracted four years, was deplorable in all respects; many hundred lives were lost on both sides; among the rest fell landdrost Stockenstrom, father of the Lieutenant-governor of the eastern district, and T'Congo, father of the chiefs Pato, Kama and T'Congo.

It is not easy to calculate exactly the expenses so brought upon the Cape Colony, and upon the home Treasury; but the Commissioners of Inquiry notice the expense of the war of 1811 as a great evil; and as they remark, that peaceful intercourse is endangered by the troops, so they anticipate saving of money from a peaceful system.

The results of this war of 1811 were, first, a succession of new wars, not less expensive, and more sanguinary than the former; second, the loss of thousands of good labourers to the colonists; and this testimony as to the actual service done by Caffre labourers, comprises the strong opinion of Major Dundas, when landdrost in 1827, as to their good dispositions, and that of Colonel Wade to the same effect; and thirdly, the checking of civilization and trade with the interior for a period of 12 years.

The gain was some hundreds of thousands of acres of land, which might have been bought from the natives for comparatively a trifle.

In 1813, it is stated that a "commando, under Colonel Brereton, took 30,000 head of cattle from the Caffres: a practice forming part of a system to which frequent reference is made in every history of our Cape colony transactions.

The inhabitants of the frontier have, it seems, from the earliest times, been accustomed to unite in "armed assemblages, called commandos," for the purpose of recovering stolen cattle. The system was recognized by the Government, who appointed a field-commandant to each district, and a field-cornet to each sub-division of the district,

In 1833 a proclamation of Sir Lowry Cole empowered any field-cornet or deputy field-cornet, to whom a boor may complain that he had lost cattle, to send a party of soldiers on the track and recover the cattle.

It is on evidence, that this mode of recovering cattle is very uncertain; that the cattle are often reported as lost, when they have only strayed; so that, in nine cases out of ten, you punish the innocent; "and here," says Captain Stockenstrom, "lies the great evil, for it is the easiest and most lucrative mode of retaliation, yet at the same time the most demoralizing." * * *

The late Commissioner of the frontier, now Lieutenant-governor, thus gives his opinion of the working of this system. * * *

I had then long since made up my mind that the great source of misfortune on the frontier, was the system of taking Caffre cattle under any circumstances by our patrols, and I shall give my reasons: if Caffres steal cattle, very seldom the real perpetrators can be found,

unless the man losing the cattle has been on his guard, and sees the robbery actually perpetrated, so that he can immediately collect a force and pursue the plunderers; if the cattle be once out of sight of the plundered party, there is seldom any getting them again; our patrols are then entirely at the mercy of the statements made by the farmers, and they may pretend that they are leading them on the trace of the stolen cattle, which may be the trace of any cattle in the world. On coming up to the first Caffre kraal, the Caffre, knowing the purpose for which the patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight; we then use force and collect those cattle, and take the number said to be stolen, or more: this the Caffres naturally, and as it always appeared to me, justly resist; they have nothing else to live on, and if the cows be taken away the calves perish, and it is a miserable condition in which the Caffre women and children, and the whole party, are left; that resistance is usually construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible then to prevent innocent bloodshed. It also often happens that when the patrol is on the spoor [track] of cattle really stolen, they find some individual head of cattle which is either knocked up or purposely left behind by the real perpetrators, near a kraal, and that is taken as a positive proof of the guilt of that kraal, and leads to the injustice which I have previously pointed out. There have been instances where the farmers have gone into Caffreland with a patrol, pretending to be on the spoor of stolen cattle, and where cattle were taken from the Caffres on the strength of this supposed theft, and on returning home he has found his cattle in another direction, or found them destroyed by wolves, or through his own neglect entirely strayed away; and thus men, not losing cattle at all, but coveting Caffre's cattle, have nothing more to do but to lead the patrol to a kraal, and commit the outrages above described; and the Caffres have frequently told me, "We do not care how many Caffres you shoot if they come into your country, and you catch them stealing, but for every cow you take from our country you make a thief." This I know to be the case, and though I am aware that it is an unpopular view of the question, I must persist that as long as Caffre cattle be taken, peace on the frontier is utterly impossible.

1005. Then do you attribute the disturbances, which have so constantly prevailed on the frontiers, and the acts of severity which we have been obliged to inflict occasionally, and the backward state of improvement of the natives, and the necessity of maintaining a large military force on the frontiers, to this cause; namely, the seizure of Caffre cattle, for cattle stolen or pretended to be stolen from the colonists?—Decidedly.

1006. You think that is the great source of these evils?—Certainly.

1007. And the great source of expense to Government in keeping up a sufficient military force on the frontier?—Yes, decidedly; it leads to this, that when cattle are taken, those from whom they are taken have nothing else to live on; they consequently try to keep possession and defend themselves: this is "resistance;" we then use violence, they are shot, and at last comes war, and war without end.

1013. Do you think we can have a system of peace and tranquillity, and the introduction of civilization among the natives, so long as this system of seizing their cattle continues?—Decidedly not; they cannot be quiet, the people must eat.

1014. Do you think it is in vain to attempt to civilize and christianize them as long as this system of plundering them of their cattle

continues?—Yes, it is in vain to attempt to civilize and christianize, if people have nothing to eat.

1015. Did you represent to the Government that the continuance of this system would render it necessary for the Government to annex the Caffreland to our dominions?—In both my statements which are before the Committee, it will be found that almost the very words were used long before any of the late outrages began. As a natural consequence of our commando in 1818, followed the expulsion of the Caffres, and the seizure of the ceded territory. We will go from one line to another, and we will take one slice of the country after another, and as long as you continue to take the people's cattle, so long will this take place, and you will go from river to river till you get to Delagoa Bay. * * * * *

But we return to the history. In 1817 we entered into a treaty with Gaika, a Caffre chief of importance, but not, as we chose, or as a witness expresses it, "wished," to consider him, paramount sovereign, to punish the depredations of the other chiefs, one of whom, T'Slambie, soon after quarrelled with Gaika. We took part with Gaika, and defeated his enemies, of whom a great number were slain, and we brought off an immense drove of cattle, which we divided with our ally. This involved us in the more serious war of 1819, when the Caffres, whom we had plundered in the preceding year, made a desperate incursion into the colony. They were driven back with slaughter, and we then demanded of Gaika a large portion of Caffreland, for no reason that can be discovered, except that he failed in preventing the incursion, though he was then our ally, and aided us in repelling it. * * * *

We thus pushed our boundary line to the Keiskamma, taking in about 2,000 square miles more. This tract was at first to be called neutral territory, but it soon came to bear the name of ceded territory, although the mode of cession was somewhat questionable. Gaika himself did not profess to have the entire disposal of the lands he thus surrendered; the right was disputed by the chiefs of his own nation, and the treaty was merely verbal, and consigned to the memory of the parties alone; but in those days, as a witness observed, a discussion with the Caffres was not treated with much formality. * * * * * *

It should be noticed, that in this treaty Gaika expressly reserved for the Caffres the basin of the Chumie, which became afterwards a point of further contention. * * * * *

The next fact that strikes us is the statement of Captain Atchison: "The chief, Macomo, upon representing the hardship of his being removed out of the country and giving up the Kat River, which was formerly his, was allowed to return again; but many robberies had been committed by his people, and traced to his kraals or huts. In 1822 or 1823 a large force, in which I was employed, surprised these kraals in the middle of the night, and we took from them 7,000 beasts."

We also find other records of commandos of the colony, and in 1826 it is admitted that one of these attacked by mistake the kraal of Botman.

Still Macomo remained, as it was said, on sufferance; but in 1829 an attack of Macomo's upon the Tambookies was the occasion or the pretext of his expulsion. Macomo alleged that he had done nothing to deserve the displeasure of the British Government. But it is not our design to defend his treatment of the Tambookies. His expulsion, however, seems to have been a measure of severity, as described by a witness by no means favourable to Macomo, and to have remained a lasting grievance in his mind. * * *

The banks of the Chumie were still left in the possession of the Caffres, and their next remove was from thence.

In 1833, before Sir Lowry Cole left the colony, he had given orders for removing Tyalie and his people from the Muncassanna; he was accordingly removed, but by an error, as Colonel Wade says, not placed beyond the boundary. To remedy this error, Colonel Wade, without consulting the frontier authorities, gave order for a further removal, which must have appeared to the Caffres, who had submitted quietly to the first order, an unaccountable decree.

On this affair we would remark, that the actual boundary was at least a disputed point, few authentic witnesses remaining; but there were two persons, who, from their station, must be regarded as competent to speak to the point, and they, without communication, concur in declaring that the Chumie basin (the tract in question, as we believe) had been reserved for the Caffres. These are Captain Stockenstrom, who, in his account of the treaty, says, as we have seen, that Gaika did stipulate that his family should keep the Chumie basin; and Macomo, who, in a letter written in 1833, says, that "I have lived peaceably with my people west of the Chumie river, ever since I have been allowed by Stockenstrom and Somerset to live there in my own country."

Whatever may be the opinions of our witnesses on this and on other particulars of our border policy, on one point we observe they are all agreed, in condemning and in lamenting its fickleness and inutility.

This vacillation may be explicable, perhaps, to ourselves, who are aware of the variety of men and opinions concerned in the administration of affairs, and of the contradictory representations liable to be made at a remote seat of government; but, as Lord Glenelg has justly observed, to the natives our proceedings must often have assumed an appearance of caprice, and of a confusion perfectly unintelligible. In no case has this vacillation been more awkwardly exemplified than in the further transactions with Macomo, thus stated by Captain R. S. Aitchison:—

115. Have you ever been employed in removing any of the Caffre

tribes out of the neutral territory?—I have: in November 1833 I was ordered to remove Macomo, Botman and Tyalie, beyond the boundary, which I did.

116. Who was the commandant of the frontier at that time?—Colonel England, of the 75th; Colonel Somerset having gone on leave to England.

117. Who was the governor?—The acting governor was Colonel Wade; after Sir Lowry Cole's departure, and before Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived, Colonel Wade was acting governor.

118. Will you state what took place when you were ordered to remove Macomo and Tyalie?—Colonel England sent for me (I was absent about 30 miles from Graham's-town), and stated that he had received from Cape-town orders to remove those chiefs beyond the boundary, and that I was named for that duty. He then, as I had been a long time in the country and understood these matters perfectly, asked me the policy of that step, and we agreed that as it was the time of the year when the Caffre corn and pumpkins were in a forward state, that if this could be put off for a few months it would be an act of charity towards the Caffres. Viewing it as I did, he did not act upon the order, but by the post of the following day wrote to say that such being the case, he had submitted again the policy of allowing the Caffres to remain until they had reaped their harvest, and hoped it would be approved of by the governor. By return of post, which was about 14 days from that date, a peremptory order arrived for the removal of the Caffres. I was named and ordered to repair to Fort Willshire, to take upon myself the command of that post, and to superintend the clearing of the country. The force that was then put under my charge was quite inadequate to effect this purpose by force. I sent for Macomo and for Botman, and as I had known them many years, I told them, and in fact they expressed great confidence, knowing that I had never deceived them in any way whatever, and never promised them that which I could not perform. I sent for them and explained the case. At first they refused positively to go: I then pointed out as well as I could the absurdity of objecting to go. Macomo said he knew very well that I could not force him; I said of course that I must do it, but that if he would go quietly and advise all his people to do the same, Colonel Somerset might be expected very shortly and also the new governor, and that his good behaviour on this occasion would insure him my support, and that I would not fail, if he went quietly, to mention his conduct to both when they arrived. After many hours, I may say almost, of needless conversation upon the subject, he at last said that he would believe me, and would go. I gave him two days to complete the evacuation of the country, and then I went with the whole force I had, and did not find a single Caffre.

119. Had they left any property?—All the corn, which was quite green, all the gardens, and all the pumpkins, and everything was left; no animals were left.

122. In this conversation that you had with Macomo, did he claim his right to stay?—No; but he distinctly said, which we found out afterwards to be the case, that he could not make out the cause of his removal, and asked me if I would tell him; and I really could not: I had heard nothing, no cause was ever assigned to me for the removal; and moreover I met a boor who lived close to where Macomo was, and he said, "Pray what are you removing these people for?" I said,

"My orders are to do so." He said, "I am very sorry for it, for I have never lost, so long as they have been here, a single beast; they have even recovered beasts for me."

125. Then Macomo behaved, in this interview between you and him, very well?—At first, as may be supposed, he was very violent; the man was very much irritated. I could not assign any reason why he was ordered to be removed; and he absolutely stated, "I will allow you to inquire at Fort Willshire, whether or not I have not sent in horses and cattle re-captured from other Caffres, which had been stolen from the colony."

131 Did you see any instance of great distress amongst them?—Unfortunately it so happened for them that it was a particularly dry season; the grass, which generally is very abundant, was very scarce indeed, and also water; and they were driven out of a country that was both better for water and grass than the one they were removed to, which was already thickly inhabited. They took me over the country they were to inhabit, and I assure you there was not a morsel of grass upon it more than there is in this room; it was as bare as a parade.

132. On Colonel Somerset's return from England, was there any permission given to Macomo and his followers to return?—I mentioned to Colonel Somerset on his return, what I had told Macomo; I considered it my duty to do so, and he either obtained or gave the Caffres permission to re-occupy the ground from which I had driven them.

149. As to Macomo's tribe, did they reap the benefit of that harvest when they returned in January?—No, I think not; the corn would not be ripe till March.

150. You suppose the whole of that was lost?—A great part of that.

151. They came in February?—Yes.

152. When were they driven out?—By return of post. Colonel Somerset allowed them to come in, and, upon a representation to the civil commissioners, they were ordered back again.

In what light, may we again ask, must these changes have appeared to the Caffres, removed without cause assigned from their huts and springing corn in November 1833—restored in February 1834—sent away again by return of post—in the same year, as we shall see, allowed to resettle themselves—and again ejected.*

We might find cause for regret in these changes, if only on the

* Sir Benjamin D'Urban thus speaks of the November expulsion:—"For many years past the tribes of the chiefs Macomo, Bothman and Tyalie, had been allowed by the colonial government to reside and graze their cattle immediately within (on the western side of) the River Keiskamma, upon the Gaga, Chumie and Muncassana. In the November of the last year the acting governor, under the impression that this indulgence had been abused (which probably it might have been to a certain extent), ordered their immediate expulsion from the whole of that line, and they were expelled accordingly. This unfortunately happened when a period of severe drought was approaching; so that these tribes, I am afraid, but too certainly suffered much loss in their herds in consequence."—Despatch, 28th Oct. 1834; Cape Papers, Part II. 1835, No. 252, p. 103.

ground of the fickleness of policy which they exhibit, but when we couple with them the fact mentioned by Mr. Gisborne, that one only of these removals had produced in the minds not only of the chiefs immediately concerned, but in that of Hintza, feelings of distrust and irritation, we cannot but consider these repetitions of the grievance as one of the principal causes of the calamity which has befallen the colony. Of the last scene of removal, Colonel Wade was witness on the 21st October, 1834. He says, that "at this time, they had been returned about a month, had built their huts, established their cattle-kraals, and commenced the cultivation of their gardens." He states that, together with Colonel Somerset, he made a visit to Macomo and Botman's kraal, across the Keiskamma, and that Macomo rode back with them, when they had recrossed the river and reached the Omkobina, a tributary of the Chumie. "These valleys were swarming with Caffres, as was the whole country in our front, as far as the Gaga; the people were all in motion, carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drifts of the river, and to my utter amazement, the whole country around and before us was in a blaze. Presently we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle corps, which had, it appeared, come out from Fort Beaufort that morning; the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts and driving the Caffres towards the frontier."

The further procedures with the Caffres are thus described :—

The second time of my leaving Caffreland was in October, last year, in company with a gentleman, who was to return towards Hantam. We passed through the country of the Gaga, at 10 o'clock at night; the Caffres were enjoying themselves after their custom, with their shouting, feasting and midnight dances; they allowed us to pass on unmolested. Some time after I received a letter from the gentleman who was my travelling companion on that night, written just before the breaking out of the Caffre war; in it he says, "You recollect how joyful the Caffres were when we crossed the Gaga; but on my return a dense smoke filled all the vales, and the Caffres were seen lurking here and there behind the Mimosa; a patrol, commanded by an officer, was driving them beyond the colonial boundary. (This piece of country has very lately been claimed by the colony.) I saw one man near me, and I told my guide to call him to me: the poor fellow said, 'No, I cannot come nearer; that white man looks too much like a soldier;' and all our persuasions could not induce him to advance near us.' 'Look,' said he, pointing to the ascending columns of smoke, 'what the white men are doing.' Their huts and folds were all burned. When the boors cross the northern boundary, you hear the civil commissioner and Colonel Bell saying the drought compels them to intrude into the country of the Griquas. I suppose boors are men, Caffres are beasts, or why not use the same argument for all classes of our fellow-men?" Thus much of this gentleman's letter, upon whose veracity I can implicitly depend. It was about this period that the case of the Caffre Goube came on, when the magistrate of Graham's-town, awarded to a Caffre 50 lashes on his bare back, and an imprisonment of two months, "for resisting a serjeant in the

execution of his duty," such being the civil charge, as may be seen in the records of the magistrates' court of Graham's-town. The poor Caffre being a subject of Macomo's, had, as it appears in evidence, built his hut on the part of the neutral territory, so called, probably the Gaga. The serjeant being about to set fire to the hut, the Caffre is said to have threatened opposition; he afterwards went through the Caffreland, showing his wounded back to his countrymen, and calling down their vengeance. Numerous were the instances of commandos or patrols, of which I heard when in Caffreland, carrying off the cattle of the Caffres, burning their huts, besides the misconduct of the traders and farmers.

Of the previous state of the country, and its appearance at the time we are speaking of, Dr. Philip says :—

In passing through Albany and the neutral territory in the end of August or the beginning of September, the scenes where their depredations were said to have taken place, I made particular inquiry after the boors and settlers who could not send their cattle and herds without sending armed men to defend them; and I endeavoured to ascertain where the hordes of Caffres were said to be within the colony harassing the military, and, in spite of them, committing unprovoked outrages; but I met with none who had either seen or heard of such things. Herds of cattle and horses were seen wandering in different directions, some of them attended by herdsmen without any arms, and others of these herds without any one appearing to look after them. Everything within the colony wore the aspect of peace; and the principal things which seemed to occupy the people's minds, were the emigration of the boors beyond the frontier, and the expectation that when the Governor came to the frontier he would grant them new farms beyond the limits of the colony. We heard in every direction that the patrols had been very active; and on approaching the Caffre frontier the first thing which struck my travelling companions and myself was a patrol coming out of Caffreland. During the two weeks I spent at the Kat River, I was constantly hearing of patrols driving the Caffres over the Chumie, burning their huts, and going into Caffreland to bring out cattle said to have been stolen. Having remained at Kat River about a fortnight, I went into Caffreland, accompanied by Captain Bradford, J. H. Tredgold, esq. and the Rev. Mr. Read. We spent about a fortnight in the Caffre country, and in every part that we visited we found the Caffres in a state of continual alarm; and we seldom met a few of them together but one or the other of them had to tell us how they had been ruined by the patrols. It was truly heartrending to listen to their complaints, and the complaints of the men were almost forgotten in the distress of the women and children, who were literally perishing, being stricken through for want of the fruits of the field and the milk that had been the means of their support, their cows having been carried away by the patrols.

Having visited the missionary stations of Lovedale, Burn's-hill and the Buffalo River, I returned by way of Knapp's-hill, the missionary station of the Rev. Mr. Kayser, which was on Macomo's ground, and near his kraal. There we met with several of the Caffre chiefs who had been invited to meet me there; namely, Macomo, Botman, Kama, and Tzatzo. We had a public meeting, which occupied the greater part of a day, and at which there was much speaking. My sole object on

that occasion was to procure any additional information for the Governor which I could obtain. I stated to them that I had come among them as their friend; I neither was in fact, nor appeared to them to be, in any other character. In reply to the remarks which the chiefs made about their sufferings, I stated that I hoped the Governor would soon be on the frontier, and that I had reason to think he was a just man, and would redress any real grievances of which they might have to complain. I told them at the same time, that they must not expect anything more than was reasonable from his Excellency; that he was obliged to protect the colonists from any depredations that might be committed on them by the Caffres, and that any future plan that might be proposed to the chiefs by the Governor would necessarily embrace the restoration of cattle stolen from the colonists by the Caffres, and other things of a similar nature.

I found the Caffres reasonable, and I had not the least doubt that had the Governor gone to the frontier at the time I was there, they would have embraced the plan he had to propose for the peaceable settlement of the frontier affairs with transports of joy. Having stated rather strongly the necessity the chiefs would be under of preventing all stealing from the colony as the condition of any peaceable relations the Governor might enter into with them, Botman made the following reply: "The Governor cannot be so unreasonable as to make our existence as a nation depend upon a circumstance which is beyond the reach of human power. Is it in the power of any Governor to prevent his people stealing from each other? Have you not within the colony, magistrates, policemen, prisons, whipping-posts and gibbets; and do you not perceive that in spite of all these means to make your people honest, that your prisons continue full, and that you have constant employment for your magistrates, policemen and hangmen, without being able to keep down your colonial thieves and cheats? A thief is a wolf; he belongs to no society, and yet is the pest and bane of all societies. You have your thieves, and we have thieves among us; but we cannot, as chiefs, extirpate the thieves of Caffreland, more than we can extirpate the wolves, or you can extirpate the thieves of the colony. There is, however, this difference between us: we discountenance thieves in Caffreland, and prevent, as far as possible, our people stealing from the colony; but you countenance the robbery of your people upon the Caffres, by the sanction you give to the injustice of the patrol system. Our people have stolen your cattle, but you have, by the manner by which you have refunded your loss, punished the innocent; and after having taken our country from us, without even a shadow of justice, and shut us up to starvation, you threaten us with destruction for the thefts of those to whom you left no choice but to steal or die by famine."

My last interview with the chiefs took place in the beginning of October 1834. After this interview, I returned to the Kat River, where I waited, expecting daily the arrival of the Governor. Finding that he delayed his proposed journey, and that I had no certainty as to the time of his arrival on the frontier, I drew up a document, communicating additional information, and at the same time laying before Sir Benjamin the principle on which it was necessary to base the system of international law proposed to be introduced. Finding that I could not wait longer for his Excellency on the frontier, I wrote a letter to him, in which I stated that circumstance, assigning my reasons for leaving Caffreland at that period; and as he was daily ex-

pected in Graham's Town, the above document, with the letter in question, I forwarded to Graham's Town, to be put into the hands of his Excellency on his arrival there, that he might see them before he went into Caffreland.

I then left Kat River on the 4th of November, by way of the Mankassana and Gaga. On a ridge which separates these two districts, I met several parties of Caffres. Goobie, a Caffre, who had been imprisoned and flogged at Graham's Town by order of the civil magistrate, had returned to that neighbourhood; and one of the first questions asked me was, what right the English Government had to punish the subject of a Caffre chief? I was assured by the people then around me, that it was the first example of a Caffre ever having been flogged; that the man could never again lift up his head in society; that it would have been better had he been shot dead; and that when the Governor should arrive among them, he would hear of it from every tongue in Caffreland, as one of the greatest indignities that could have been offered to their nation. I said everything in my power to soothe them; but no people can have a keener sense of injustice in cases where they themselves are the sufferers, or can be more alive to what they deem national affronts, than the Caffres are; and I found that any argument I used to quiet their minds tended only to increase the excitement to which this circumstance had given rise. Some of the Caffres asserted that the man was arrested on what was till then considered Caffre territory; but this is a circumstance of small consequence; he was the subject of a Caffre prince, and he had only lifted his hand to protect his hut, and his wife and child, who were in it.

Leaving the Mankassana, I proceeded along the western edge of the Chumie Basin, and during a ride of perhaps 20 miles, I did not find a single Caffre kraal or hut which had not been burnt or otherwise destroyed by the military. Immediately above Fort Willshire, and below the junction of the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, I saw with my own eyes the kraals and huts of the Caffres burning. This was on ground that was of use to no one. It was on the boundary of the neutral ground (within the territory which goes by that name), and at a great distance from any colonists. The people were sitting in small groups looking at their burning habitations. Being asked why they did not go over the river, they said there was no grass on the other side, and they might as well perish by the patrols as by famine; they added, that the patrols who fired their kraals and huts had informed them, that the next day every one of them was to be driven over the river at the point of the bayonet.

On the 5th of November, the day after I left Kat River, I halted near Fort Willshire, about mid-day. Macomo, hearing that I was there, came to the place, accompanied with about 20 of his men. They remained with me about two hours. On his way he called at Fort Willshire, where he was reminded of a demand which had been made upon him a short time before by Colonel Somerset for 480 head of cattle, said to be due to the colony. The chief stated in reply to that demand, that there were no colonial cattle among his people; that he had always been ready, whenever cattle had been stolen from the colony, and reported to him, to recover them; that in the course of a year he had sent back a great number he had recaptured from Caffres that did not belong to them. Colonel Somerset had still urged that the 480 head of cattle were to be demanded, adding that he had orders from the Governor to make this demand, but the Governor was

not willing to use force till he knew whether Macomo would comply with the demand or not. To this the chief replied, that he could only repeat what he had before said, that he had done everything in his power to recover cattle said to have been stolen from the colony; that he would be answerable for his own people, but that he could not be answerable for cattle stolen by vagabond Caffres in the bushes. Having given this reply, and being conscious that he had done everything in his power, and seeing no end to the demands made upon him, he received this last demand as a proof that his ruin was resolved upon; for he had just been told at Fort Willshire that a commando was about to enter his country to take the 480 head of cattle, and this threat seemed to add greatly to his distress. The chief then entered upon further detail of his grievances, and declared that it was impossible for human nature to endure what he had to suffer from the patrol system. I reasoned with him, and did all in my power to impress upon his mind the importance of maintaining peace with the colony. I stated again that I had reason to believe that the Governor, when he came to the frontier, would listen to all his grievances, and treat him with justice and generosity. "These promises," he replied, "we have had for the last 15 years;" and, pointing to the huts then burning, he added, "things are becoming worse: these huts were set on fire last night, and we were told that to-morrow the patrol is to scour the whole district, and drive every Caffre from the west side of the Chumie and Keiskamma at the point of the bayonet." He asked to what extent endurance was to be carried? and my reply was, "If they drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the Keiskamma peaceably; if they come and take away cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance; if they burn your huts, allow them to do so; if they shoot your men, bear it till the Governor come; and then represent your grievances to him, and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice. He was deeply affected, and the last words he said to me were, (grasping my hand,) "I will try what I can do."

These events bring us to the breaking out of the late war. On this most important subject we abstain from entering. Though much evidence has been laid before us, and many circumstances appearing therein have excited our deep regret, (amongst the most painful of which we may allude to the death of the Caffre Prince Hintza,) yet as the evidence on this head has not been completed, and as the events are so recent, we have been led to the belief that an analysis of the statements already before us might not be considered either impartial or conclusive: we therefore waive the investigation. It is sufficient to express our opinion, that the system which has long been pursued in our intercourse with the natives of South Africa has been productive of most injurious effects both to the colonists and the Caffres, exposing the former to constant insecurity and frequent severe suffering and loss, and subjecting the latter to great injustice, and to treatment which could not fail to occasion feelings of irritation and hostility.

We look upon the late war as one among many illustrations of these evils. While we purposely abstain from dwelling upon the circumstances which immediately produced it, we, without hesita-

tion, name its real, though perhaps remote cause—it was the systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice in our treatment of the native possessors of the soil.

That any substantial benefit can accrue from border conflicts, either to the British or the Caffre nation, may well be questioned. What has either party gained by recent hostilities? It is proved that both have sustained immense detriment—civilization has been retarded; commerce has been interrupted; the vanquished party has endured immense loss in property, in territory and in life;* and the victorious nation, besides suffering in all these particulars, has incurred an actual outlay of money far more than commensurate to the value of the territory acquired. The cost of this war to the British nation is estimated at 241,884*l.* 14*s.* 8½*d.*

With respect, however, to this part of our investigation, we wish it to be understood, that it is not against individuals, much less against the colonists or the military as bodies, that we would direct our reprehension; we are convinced that a large proportion of both are well and kindly disposed towards the natives: but it is the system that has been permitted to prevail in the colony, which, in our opinion, requires a complete alteration; a system which puts it into the power of the few who are rash, reckless or greedy, to hazard the peace and the welfare of the whole community. We are aware that the results of a long system of erroneous policy are not to be remedied without much time and patience, and we fear that the weight of the calamity which it has produced has in many instances fallen on those of our colonists who have least merited it; but we entertain a confident hope that, by the measures which have been lately adopted and recommended by the Government, peace and harmony between us and our neighbours may be restored and established on a sure and lasting basis; and it is chiefly to the enlightened principles, and to the just directions of the head of our Colonial Department, exemplified as they are in his late despatches before us, and to laws embodying and carrying into effect those directions and principles, that we look for this happy accomplishment of our desires. Thus much at least is sufficiently obvious, as has been stated by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in his despatch to Mr. Secretary Rice, of 28th of October 1834, "that a complete and effectual reformation of our system of proceeding with the native tribes (if that may be called a system which seems to have been guided by no fixed principles, certainly by no just one) had become absolutely necessary."

---

* This consisted in the slaughter of 4,000 of their warriors, or fighting men. "There have been taken from them also, besides the conquest and alienation of their country, about 60,000 head of cattle, almost all their goats—their habitations everywhere destroyed and their gardens and corn-fields laid waste."—Sir B. D'Urban to Lord Glenelg, November 1835.

We can hardly leave the subject of South Africa and its wrongs, without noticing two very gratifying facts of recent occurrence, the one, that Lord Glenelg has ordered the restoration to the Caffres of a considerable tract of territory of which they had been unjustly deprived: and the other, that he has appointed as Lieutenant-governor of the eastern part of the colony, and in fact as protector of the natives, Captain Stockenstrom, a man whose chief merit in the eyes of our Government, and his chief offence in those of the colonists, appears to have been his zealous maintenance of the rights of the African Aborigines.

Effects of Fair Dealing, combined with Christian Instruction, on Aborigines.

In the foregoing survey we have seen the desolating effects of the association of unprincipled Europeans with nations in a ruder state.

There remains a more gratifying subject to which we have now to direct our attention—the effect of fair dealing and of Christian instruction upon heathens. The instances are unhappily less numerous than those of an opposite character, but they are not less conclusive; and in reviewing the evidence before us, we find proof that every tribe of mankind is accessible to this remedial process, and that it has actually been partially applied, and its benefits experienced in every quarter of the world, so that the main feature of the case before us being the ravages caused by Europeans, enough has been incidentally disclosed to show that those nations which have been exposed to our contamination might, during the same period, have been led forward to religion and civilization. Independently of the obligations of conscience to impart the blessings we enjoy, we have had abundant proof that it is greatly for our advantage to have dealings with civilized men rather than with barbarians. Savages are dangerous neighbours and unprofitable customers, and if they remain as degraded denizens of our colonies, they become a burthen upon the State.

We have next to express our conviction that there is but one effectual means of staying the evils we have occasioned, and of imparting the blessings of civilization, and that is, the propagation of Christianity, together with the preservation, for the time to come, of the civil rights of the natives. * * * *

We further find, in the evidence before us, that benevolent at-

tempts have been made to instruct savages in the arts of civilized life, for the purpose of improving their condition, and gradually preparing them for the truths of the Gospel, and that these attempts have been signally unsuccessful.

The cause of this failure is explained by Mr. Beecham.

The higher motives of the gospel must be brought to bear upon the mind of the savage; he must be made to feel the importance of the truths of religion before he will discover anything desirable in the quietness and sobriety of civilized life, or will dare to break through his superstitions in order to subdue it.

I was aware that the Governor of Upper Canada had made many attempts to induce the Indians to renounce their wandering life, and I wished to ascertain from the chief himself what were his views of the endeavours made by the Governor in their behalf, and how it was that they failed. He said the fact was simply this, that the offers of the Governor had no charms for them; they could see nothing in civilized life sufficiently attractive to induce them to give up their former mode of living for the sake of it. He told me that they gave the Governor credit for very kind and benevolent intentions; yet, in answer to all his applications, while they thanked him for his kind intentions, they uniformly told him that they preferred their own mode of living to that followed by Europeans. This again was the case with the Indians who are situated in the neighbourhood of the river St. Clair. The Governor made several attempts to induce them also to renounce their wandering habits, and devote themselves to civilized pursuits; but they also refused, arguing in the following strain: "Who knows but the Munedoos (gods) would be angry with us for abandoning our own ways?" and concluded by saying, "We wish our great father, the Governor, to be informed that we feel thankful to him for his good will towards us, but cannot accept of his kind offers." It is true that, after some time, one of the tribes so far acceeded to the Governor's proposals as to consent that he should build them some houses. He built a small number for their use, but it was altogether a fruitless experiment; the Indians only occupied them occasionally as they used their own huts, without any reference to the comforts or pursuits of civilized life. I have here a letter from the chief himself in his own hand-writing, in which he says, in reference to the attempts that had thus been made to promote civilization without Christianity, "I have heard of no instance in this part of the country, where the plan of first civilizing the heathen Indians ever succeeded." * * * *

So complete indeed has been the failure of the merely civilizing plan with various tribes of Indians, that intelligent Americans have been led to adopt the conclusion, that it is necessary to banish the Indians from the neighbourhood of the white population, on the supposition that they are not capable of being reclaimed or elevated into a civilized or well-ordered community.

This was not the opinion of William Penn, whose conduct towards the Indians has been deservedly held up as a model for legislators, and who, "notwithstanding he purchased their lands" by

an equitable treaty, "did not desire their removal," but "admitted them to full participation in the benefit and protection of the laws," and who also took pains to promote their religious instruction, and to render the intercourse with their white brethren beneficial to them. That the good which he contemplated has been frustrated by many untoward circumstances, we are aware; but we do not therefore doubt the feasibility of producing a permanent impression upon uncivilized men. We consider that the true plan to be pursued is that which we find thus recommended by the Church Missionary Society, in their instructions to two of their emissaries. "In connexion with the preaching of the Gospel, you will not overlook its intimate bearing on the moral habits of a people. One effect arising from its introduction into a country is, the 'beating the sword into a ploughshare and the spear into a pruning-hook.' Seek then to apply it to the common occupation of life; and instead of waiting to civilize them before you instruct them in the truths of the Gospel, or to convert them before you aim at the improvement of their temporal condition, let the two objects be pursued simultaneously."

The Governors of the Canadas, as we find in their despatches, seem to have been brought to the conviction that religious instruction and the influence of missionaries would be the most likely means of improving their condition, and, eventually, of relieving the Government from the expense of the Indian department. Both Sir James Kempt and Sir J. Colbourne advise the sending of missionaries among them.

A remarkable instance of the power of the gospel in reclaiming savages has been afforded by the Mississaguas and Chippeways, the very Indians who had, as we have seen, rejected civilization, and who were notorious for drunkenness and debauchery.

Their improvement began with their conversion: "as soon as they were converted, they perceived the evils attendant upon their former ignorant wandering state; they began to work, which they never did before; they perceived the advantage of cultivating the soil; they totally gave up drinking, to which they had been strongly attached; they became industrious, sober and useful."

The Bishop of Quebec writes,—

The Methodist Society have been very successful in converting a great portion of the Mississagua tribe from heathen ignorance and immoral habits to Christian faith and practice; and this improvement has been so great and rapid within these few years, that the hand of God seems to be visible in it; and it must be acknowledged that they have done much in the work of their civilization. An extraordinary reformation and conversion to Christianity has taken place in this tribe within a few years. It commenced on the river Credit, and has extended to various settlements of the nation to a considerable distance. A great proportion of the tribe have become sober and indus-

trious in their habits, well clad as to their persons, and religious in their life and conversation.

Mr. Magrath also mentions that they no longer desire the gifts of trinkets and gaudy coloured clothes, in which they formerly delighted, in lieu of which they request twine, for the purpose of making fishing-nets for the Lake Ontario, The half-caste chief Kahkewaquonaby, generally known by the name of Peter Jones, in answer to the question, whether the Chippeways, on embracing the gospel, did not immediately apply themselves to civilized pursuits, says,

This has uniformly been the case with all the tribes that have embraced the gospel. Immediately on their conversion, they have applied to the Governor and missionaries for assistance, to enable them to settle down in villages, and attend to the things that make for their present happiness as well as their spiritual welfare. Their language is, "Give us missionaries to tell us about the words of the Great Spirit; give us schools, that our children may be taught to read the Bible; give us oxen to work with, and men to show us how to work our farms." To the question whether the Christain Chippeways have not made considerable advancement in civilization?—The improvement the Christian Indians have made, has been the astonishment of all who knew them in their pagan state. The change for the better has not only extended in their hearts, views, and feelings, but also in their personal appearance, and in their domestic and social condition. Formerly they were in a wandering state, living in wigwams, and depending on the chase for subsistence. The Christian Chippeways are settled at the following places, viz. River Credit, Grape Island, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Lake Simcoe, Cold Water, Muncey Town, River St. Clair (Wawanosh's tribe,) and Sahgeeng. At each of these places they have made more or less progress in civilization, according to the advantages they enjoyed. The River Credit Mission being the oldest station among the Chippeways, I will give you an account of their present temporal condition. About ten years ago this people had no houses, no fields, no horses, no cattle, no pigs, no poultry. Each person could carry all he possessed on his back, without being much burthened. They are now occupying about 40 comfortable houses, most of which are built of hewn logs, and a few of frame. They are generally one-and-a-half story high, and about 24 feet long and 18 feet wide, with stone or brick chimneys; two or three rooms in each house; their furniture consists of tables, chairs, bedsteads, straw mattresses, a few feather beds, window-curtains, boxes and trunks for their wearing apparel, small shelves fastened against the wall for their books, closets for their cooking utensils, cup-boards for their plates, cups, saucers, knives, and forks. Some have clocks and watches. They have no carpets; but a few have mats laid on their floors. This tribe own a saw-mill, a work-shop, a blacksmith's shop, and a warehouse, the property of the whole community. They have about 200 acres of land under cultivation, on which they grow wheat, Indian corn or maize, oats, peas, potatoes, pumpkins and squashes. In their gardens they raise beans, melons, cabbages, onions, &c. A few have

planted fruit-trees in their gardens, such as apple-trees, cherry-trees, pear-trees, currant and gooseberry-bushes. All these thrive well here, when properly cultivated. They have a number of oxen, cows, horses, pigs, poultry, dogs and cats; a few barns and stables; a few waggons and sleighs, also all sorts of farming implements. "I guess," as the Yankees say, it would require an Indian as strong as Sampson to carry all his goods and chattles on his back now.

He goes on to speak of the improvement in their dress; they now use English cloth; and he dwells especially upon the great amelioration of the condition of the women, who have been raised from the drudgery of beasts of burthen, and are now treated with consideration by their husbands.

A similar instance is furnished by the history of the St. Clair Chippeways, of whom the Rev. J. Evans says,

They were all drunkards with one exception, not drunkards in a limited sense, but the most abandoned and unblushing sots imaginable; they were never sober when they could procure anything to intoxicate them; they were idle in the extreme, never attending to any business except hunting; the women being considered the proper persons to manage the agricultural department, which consisted of perhaps half an acre of maize or Indian corn, seldom more; the greater part of the produce of which was in general sold for whiskey at the spirit-store or the tavern, in the vicinity of which places the greater part of their time was spent, embracing every opportunity of soliciting from the whites the means of gratifying their insatiable thirst for the "fire water." Their places of abode, until about three years past, were bark wigwams; and such was their poverty and wretchedness, that could my pen draw a faithful picture, and fully point out their extreme misery, there are few indeed in the island of comforts where you dwell, who would not charge me with exaggeration. Thus sinking in the slough of iniquity, the children were at times exposed to the most severe sufferings by hunger and nakedness. I have known many times a family of small children left to spend several days and nights in the wigwam alone, gathering a few sticks to warm their shivering limbs, or wandering through the bushes to obtain a few berries and roots; chewing the bark of the elm and other trees to satisfy their hunger; greedily devouring the potatoe peelings and refuse thrown out by the whites; while their parents were rolling around some of those hotbeds of vice, those nurseries of crimes, the taverns. They were the most prodigal that can be conceived; the annual payments made by the Crown as a remuneration for their lands, together with presents, amounting to several thousand pounds sterling, were almost useless; nay, in many cases, worse than useless, by making them indulge to a greater extent in drunkenness. I have known scores of them to sell all their goods thus obtained in two or three days. Such was their insatiable thirst for liquor, that a quart or two would induce them to part with anything they possessed, rather than forego the gratification of a drunken frolic. I have known the Indians live for days on a dead horse, ox or other animal, rather than leave the spot where they could procure whiskey. * * * *

The Rev. Mr. Ryerson, who is described as being intimately acquainted with the Mohawks, gives a similar history of their past and present circumstances:—

A striking proof of the inefficacy of merely educational instruction to civilize barbarous tribes, and of the power of the gospel to civilize as well as to christianize, the most vicious of the human race, is furnished by the Mohawk nation of Indians in Upper Canada.

The Mohawks are one of the six nations of Indians to whom, at an early period, His Majesty granted a large tract of land, situate on the banks of the Grand River, the most fertile tract of land in Upper Canada, lying in the heart of the province and surrounded by a white population. Most of these Mohawks had even been baptized, and they were visited once a year by a clergyman of the Church of England.

The greater part of them were taught to read and write: they were exhorted to till the soil, and cultivate the arts of civilized life; yet this nation was more drunken, ferocious, and vicious than any one of the five other heathen nations on the Indian reservation. They were proverbially savage and revengeful, as well as shrewd, so as often to be a terror to their white neighbours. In no respect was the social and civil condition of the Mohawks practically and morally improved above that of the neighbouring heathen tribes, by the mere educational and civilizing process of 40 years. The example and vices of the Mohawks were often urged by their heathen neighbours as an o' ction against the Christian religion itself, when missionaries were s mong them. But a few years ago (1825), when the gospel was p ched to these Mohawk Indians, as well as to the several tribes of Chippeway Indians, a large portion of them embraced it, and became at once changed in their dispositions and reformed in their lives, teachable, sober, honest, and industrious; and are improving in the arts of civilization, and cultivating the virtues and charities of Christian life.

In the instance of these various tribes of Indians, we see that the very people who had access to civilization not only in the form in which it ordinarily presents itself to savages, but for whom also expensive and more than ordinarily humane exertions were made, under the patronage of the Governor, to lead them to adopt civilization, nevertheless withstood all inducements to alter their habits. The allurements presented to them altogether failed, so that there was neither civilization nor Christianity among them; when a second experiment, beginning at the other end, was made. Christianity was preached to them by resident missionaries; and no sooner did they become converts to its doctrines, than they exhibited that desire for the advantages of civilized life, and that delight in its conveniences, which have hitherto been supposed to belong exclusively to cultivated nations, and to be utterly strange and abhorrent to the nature of the savage.

On the subject of the North American Indians, Mr. Beecham concludes his evidence by saying,—

I think I may safely lay down this as a general rule, that wherever

the Gospel has not been introduced among the Indians of Upper Canada, there the process by which the diminution of their numbers is effected is steadily going on; but wherever Christianity has been established, there a check has been interposed to the process of destruction; and on the older stations, among the tribes that have been the greatest length of time under the influence of Christian principles, there the population has begun to increase. Christianity, by the change which it has wrought in their character and pursuits, by saving them from those destructive vices to which they were given up, and promoting that industry which procures for them the means of healthful subsistence, has thus checked the evils under which they were wasting away.

The Rev. W. Ellis, the Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who was for many years himself a Missionary in the South Sea Islands, thus gives the summary of the results of his own experience:—

It is my conviction that Christianity supplies materials and machinery for promoting civilization of the highest order. I might adduce one or two examples of the correctness of these sentiments from a part of the world with which I am more familiar than any other, the South Sea Islands. If civilization be viewed as consisting in exemption from temporal wants, and the possession of means of present enjoyment, the inhabitants of these islands were placed in circumstances more favourable to civilization than perhaps any other people under Heaven. They have a salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and an abundance of all that could render the present life happy, so far as mere animal existence is concerned; but there was perhaps no portion of the human family in a state of wretchedness equal to that to which they were reduced before Christianity was introduced among them. They were accustomed to practise infanticide, probably more extensively than any other nation; they offered human sacrifices in greater numbers than I have read of there having been offered by any other nation; they were accustomed to war of the most savage and exterminating kind. Efforts were made by the missionaries for the introduction of the arts of civilization, with instruction in the truths of the Christian religion. For 15 years those efforts were altogether unsuccessful; they produced no amelioration in the morals or in the circumstances of the people. The vices which sailors took there rendered the inhabitants more wretched. When Christianity was adopted by the people, human sacrifices, infant murder and war entirely ceased; *peace remained unbroken for* 15 *years;* the language which the missionaries had learned during the interval between their arrival and the adoption of Christianity by the people, had been reduced to a system; orthography, a grammar and dictionary had been prepared; portions of the Bible had been translated. When the natives adopted Christianity they were willing to become pupils in the school; but until Christianity supplied a motive, by producing a desire to read the Scriptures, they never had a motive sufficient to lead them to endure the restraint and confinement of the school, but they have done so since, and there are several thousands now capable of reading and writing. The entire volume of Divine Revelation has been translated; the New Testament has been printed, and is in circulation among them. Christianity condemned indolence, *required industry,* and supplied in-

ducements to labour; and the natives, since they embraced Christianity, have acquired a knowledge of a number of useful manual arts. Before that the efforts of the missionaries to induce them to work in iron and in wood produced no satisfactory result; since that they have been taught to work in wood, and there are now carpenters who hire themselves out to captains of ships to work at repairs of vessels, &c., for which they receive regular wages; and there are blacksmiths that hire themselves out to captains of ships, for the purpose of preparing iron-work required in building or repairing ships. The natives have been taught not only to construct boats, but to build vessels, and there are perhaps 20, (there have been as many as 40) small vessels, of from 40 to 80 or 90 tons burthen, built by the natives, navigated sometimes by Europeans, and manned by natives, all the fruit of the natives' own skill and industry. They have been taught to build neat and comfortable houses, and to cultivate the soil. They could not be induced to do that while heathen, for they used to say the fruit ripens and the pigs get fat while we are asleep, and that is all we want; why, therefore, should we work? But *now they have new wants;* a number of articles of clothing and commerce are necessary to their comfort, and they cultivate the soil to supply them. At one island, where I was once 15 months without seeing a single European excepting our own families, there were I think 28 ships put in for provisions last year, and all obtained the supplies they wanted. Besides cultivating potatoes and yams, and raising stock, fowls and pigs, the cultivation, the spinning and the weaving of the cotton has been introduced by missionary artizans; and there are some of the chiefs and a number of the people, especially in one of the islands, who are now decently clothed in garments made after the European fashion, produced from cotton grown in their own gardens, spun by their own children, and woven in the islands. One of the chiefs of the island of Rarotonga, as stated by the missionaries, never wears any other dress than that woven in the island. They have been taught also to cultivate the sugar-cane, which is indigenous, and to make sugar, and some of them have large plantations, employing at times 40 men. They supply the ships with this useful article, and at some of the islands between 50 and 60 vessels touch in a single year. The natives of the islands send a considerable quantity away; I understand that one station sent as much as 40 tons away last year; in November last a vessel of 90 tons burthen, built in the islands, was sent to the colony of New South Wales laden with Tahitian grown sugar.

4417. Have they any slaves there?—Not since Christianity has been introduced; formerly captives taken in war were made slaves.

4418. Then Christianity, among other good effects, has *led to the abolition of slavery* among them?—They never considered the two things compatible. Besides the sugar they have been taught to cultivate, they prepare arrow-root, and they sent to England in one year, as I was informed by merchants in London, more than had been imported into this country for nearly 20 previous years. Cattle also have been introduced and preserved, chiefly by the missionaries; pigs, dogs, and rats were the only animals they had before, but the missionaries have introduced cattle among them. While they continued heathen, they disregarded, nay, destroyed some of those first landed among them, but since that time they have highly prized them, and by their attention to them they are now so numerous as to enable the natives to supply ships with fresh beef at the rate of 3*d.* a pound. The islanders have

also been instructed by the missionaries in the manufacture of cocoanut oil, of which large quantities are exported. They have been taught to cultivate tobacco, and this would have been a valuable article of commerce had not the duty in New South Wales been so high as to exclude that grown in the islands from the market. The above are some of the proofs that Christianity prepares the way for and necessarily leads to the civilization of those by whom it is adopted. There are now in operation among a people who, when the missionaries arrived, were destitute of a written language, 78 *schools, which contain between* 12,000 *and* 13,000 *scholars.* The Tahitians have also a simple, explicit and wholesome *code of laws,* as the result of their imbibing the principles of Christianity. This code of laws is printed and circulated among them, understood by all, and acknowledged by all as the supreme rule of action for all classes in their civil and social relations. The laws have been productive of great benefits. I have before me a copy of the code of laws printed in 1835, in the islands, and a translation also. The missionaries have often been charged with being opposed to the introduction of the means for the temporal improvement of the people. I might adduce the evidence of many witnesses to show that the labours of the missionaries, while chiefly directed to the spiritual improvement of the people, have originated and promoted the civilization of the most efficient kind. But I will only quote the testimony of one, a naval officer, Captain Beechy, who visited the island in 1826, and was there several months. After mentioning a number of changes, he refers to the laws. There were several instances in which he saw their operation. In reference to their practical working, he says, "The limit thus imposed on the arbitrary power of the monarch, and the security thus afforded to the liberties and properties of the people, reflect credit upon the missionaries, who were very instrumental in introducing these laws." And after adverting to a trial for theft, Captain Beechy, as quoted by Mr. Ellis, proceeds to say, "If we compare the fate which would have befallen the prisoners, supposing them innocent, had they been arraigned under the early form of government, with the transactions of this day, we cannot but congratulate the people on the introduction of the present penal code, and acknowledge that it is one of the greatest temporal blessings they have derived from the introduction of Christianity." Christianity, when received by an uncivilized people, not only leads to the adoption of salutary laws for preserving the peace of the community and cultivating the virtues of social life, but it secures *protection to the merchant and the mariner,* and the greatest *facilities for the extension of commerce.* Traffic can often only be carried on with uncivilized tribes at great risk, even of personal safety; but where missionaries have introduced the Gospel, our vessels go with safety and confidence. Formerly, when a wreck occurred, the natives hastened to plunder and to murder, or reserved those who escaped from the sea for sacrifices; now they succour them and protect their property. I could give many instances of this, but I content myself with one. It is contained in a letter left by Captain Chase, of the American ship Falcon, with the native teachers at Rumtu, at which island he had been wrecked:—

"The natives gave us all the assistance in their power, from the time the ship struck to the present moment. The first day, while landing the things from the ship, they were put into the hands of the natives, and carried up to the native mission-house, a distance of half a mile, and not a single article of clothing was taken from any man belonging

to the ship, though they had it in their power to have plundered us of everything that was landed. Since I have lived ashore, myself, officers and people have received the kindest treatment from the natives that can be imagined, for which I shall ever be thankful. Myself and officers have lived in the house of Buna (a teacher from Raiatea), who, together with his wife, has paid every attention to make us comfortable, for which I return my unfeigned thanks, being the only compensation I can make them at present."

The moral progress of this quarter of the world stated in this general survey is more particularly detailed by the missionariers of the several societies who have there laboured; and the testimony of all to the necessity of beginning with Christianity is the same. Thus a clergyman of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, says, in answer to the question "From the experience you have had in missionary exertions, would you begin by attempting to civilize or by attempting to christianize?—Certainly by attempting to christianize; 15 years we attempted to civilize without effect, and the very moment that Christianity established itself in only one instance in the island, from that moment civilization commenced, and has been going on, hand in hand with Christianity, but never preceded it.

In the case of New Zealand, it appears solely to have been the religious character of the missionaries which won for them the confidence of the people.

"We found them decidedly a savage people, addicted to canibalism, to murder and to everything which was evil, and accustomed to injuries from Europeans."

One of the first proofs of the influence which the missionaries had acquired, was given on the occasion of a war which some among them were desirous to terminate. The account is so characteristic of the manners of the people and of the missionaries' method of influencing them, that we transcribe the whole of it:

1615. In what instances have the missionaries exercised their influence in making peace between contending tribes?—The first instance was the battle of Hokianga. A young man, the son of a chief, came over to the Bay of Islands, and when he arrived there he took up a stone, and dashing it upon the ground, said, "This stone is Warrehumu." That is one of the greatest curses that he could utter; and the custom of the country is always to punish the tribe to which the party belongs that has uttered the curse, and not the party himself. Immediately that Warrehumu heard that he had been cursed by this man he went and began to punish the tribe, which punishment they resisted. One man loaded his musket with ball cartridge, and fired it into the midst of the party; a skirmish ensued; Warrehumu was shot dead, his wife and children and 20 of his men. The rest escaped, and told their tale in the Bay; and the chiefs assembled to consult together what they ought to do, and they were unanimously of opinion that it was impossible to make peace till they had had satisfaction in blood to double the amount shed on their side. There were two or three of them that were very desirous of making peace, on account of the great slaughter that must take place if they

fought, for they were equally well armed, and about 2,000 on each side; and one of the principal men jumped up in the midst of the consultation, and said, "There are these missionaries that have been talking to us for 15 years about peace, let us see what they can do." They came, and requested us to go. We went, five of us, in a body. We found 2,000 people on one side of a little eminence, and 2,000 on another side, within musket shot, waiting the arrival of the chiefs to commence the attack. We pitched our tent between them for three successive days; we went from tribe to tribe and from hut to hut to endeavour to make it up between them. At the end of that time there was great division in their councils, and we seemed to be as far from effecting our purpose as at the first moment; and then we requested them to leave the decision of it to one individual, which they resolved to do, and left it to Tareha, a chief of great importance in the Bay, but a very dreadful savage. We succeeded in getting him to our tent, and he resolved in his own mind to decide for peace; we tried to work upon his mind in the best manner we could.

1616. Is he connected with either of those parties?—Yes.

1617. Both parties placed it in his hands?—Yes, it was left to the Bay of Islanders to decide; the other people could not say a word.

1618. Was it in consequence of your communications with Tareha that he was induced to take the resolution in favour of peace?—Himself and the whole of the 4,000 people attributed it entirely to that, and from that moment we date our present influence in the country.

1619. Did you then secure peace between the contending tribes?—Yes; and they have been the firmest friends and allies of any distinct tribes we are acquainted with in the country ever since that time.

1620. What sort of arguments did you use with that person?—We first began to tell him of what would be the effect of it in lessening their own numbers, even if they gained the victory, and that the people from the south would then come down upon them, knowing that Hongi was dead, they would come in a body upon them and destroy them; and then we endeavoured to point out to him the evil of it in the sight of that God whom we came to make known. After our consultation he got up, and as he was passing out of the tent he said, "Perhaps I shall be for war, perhaps I shall be for peace, but I think I shall be for war; perhaps we shall fight, perhaps we shall not fight, but I think we shall fight." We then tried to work upon his fears; he was an enormously large man, and Mr. Williams called out to him, "Take care, Tareha, you are a very big man, and no musket-ball can pass by you."

1624. Was the result of your interference, that what would have probably been a bloody battle was prevented, and that peace was made between the contending tribes?—Yes; and they have remained upon the most friendly terms ever since.

1625. Do you believe that if it had not been for the interference of the missionaries this conflict would have taken place?—There is no question in my own mind, nor in the mind of any New Zealander I have ever met with.

1626. Did the measures which the missionaries took upon that occasion tend to extend and enlarge their influence afterwards?—Yes, throughout the whole country. It was made known in the southern parts of the island, and brought great numbers to request our interference in their quarrels also.

1627. Do you recollect any other instances in which the missionaries have been engaged in promoting peace?—Not in which I myself have

been engaged; but many in which my brethren have, at the different stations.

1628. Can you speak of those from that kind of information that you can confidently state that you know the facts?—Yes.

1629. Will you state any that have come to your knowledge in that way?—There was the battle of Tauranga: the first rise of that was, the captain of an English vessel, a whaling ship, had a quarrel with some women on board his vessel; he was very angry about it, and determined to get the natives of the interior to punish those on the coast for the insult which those two women had offered to him in that quarrel. He sent into the interior to fetch the chiefs, telling them they must come to fight a battle for the insult of those two women. They refused to do so, saying, that it was not according to New Zealand custom; that they only fought when people had done some real injury, but that they never fought when it was all mouth, and that this had been nothing but mouth, and consequently they refused to fight. He told them that he would make it known in England; that every one in England thought the New Zealanders were a brave people; but he would let the English people know, and let the King know that they were cowards; but that if they would fight he would supply them with arms and ammunition. They could not bear this, and therefore they resolved to fight. They brought down a great number of people. We were rather too late in going over; we did not know so much of it as we do sometimes; and about a quarter of an hour after the battle we saw a hundred of the people dead and wounded upon the beach. Then, according to the custom of the country, a number of the New Zealanders went to the south to seek satisfaction for the death of their friends. Those persons who went down intending to cut off some of the tribes of the south as a payment for the death of their friends, were fallen in with by a large armed party of the natives, and were all cut off themselves; 41 went and only one returned. This caused the whole of the Bay of Islanders to arm themselves and to go and fight with the tribes of the south for the loss of those 40. There were between 50 and 60 canoes. The canoes were attended by our missionary ship, the Active, the missionary boat, and a small cutter that we have. Mr. Williams accompanied the flotilla. They were five weeks before the fortification of the besieged, negociating with the besiegers, but without effect, the first five weeks. The missionaries then returned home, and afterwards, not satisfied, they went back again. Mr. Williams went down in his boat a second time, with Mr. Chapman, Mr. Kemp, and Mr. Fairburn, and effected a reconciliation between the two parties. The Bay of Islanders returned home without having destroyed a single individual.

Mr. Coates, the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, gives a long list of improvements effected in New Zealand; we take this paragraph as being of the latest date, 14 December, 1835:—

* * * * "The scene in the Waimate and its vicinity is much changed, and we may truly be said to live in a civilized country. Our neighbours, those not connected with the seaports, are civil, courteous, honest and teachable. Locks and bolts are but little used, and but little needed; working tools are safe, although lying in all directions. Ten years ago a person scarcely dared to lay a tool down, as it was almost sure to be stolen."

The general results of the mission in New Zealand are thus stated :—

1782. What have been the effects of the exertions of the missionaries in a general manner?—Abolishing their superstitious observances, establishing the Sabbath, rendering the natives more industrious, bringing a large proportion of their land into a state of cultivation, preventing war, ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and making the language a written one."

Amongst other benefits conferred by Christianity, the amelioration of the laws of the islanders is undoubtedly one of the most important. * * *

We find that the missionaries have often been successful mediators between the natives and those who have injured them.

The missionaries made it their business to teach their converts useful trades. * * *

They are " very apt indeed" at learning mechanical trades.

It is a remarkable feature in this work, that it has been greatly extended by the agency of the converted natives themselves, since it has always formed a part of the missionary system to employ native teachers to propagate Christianity. * * *

Thus, then, amidst these clusters of islands, containing a population known to exceed a million, and perhaps of several millions, a change (as we have seen) of unequalled importance, because affecting so large a mass of mankind, has been begun in our own time, and has been almost imperceptibly going forward.

The first attempt made for their conversion was in 1797; for 17 years the work appeared to make no progress, and in Europe no other notion was entertained of these people than that they were idolaters and cannibals, and their country a rude and barbarous wilderness, without arts, without commerce, without civilization, and without the rudiments of Christianity. Such was the estimate, not inaccurately formed, of their state 20 years ago. Within this brief space, under no other agency than the influence of Christian truth, they have conveyed a cargo of idols to the depôt of the Missionary Society in London; they have become factors to furnish our vessels with provisions, and merchants to deal with us in the agricultural growth of their own country. Their language has been reduced to writing, and they have gained the knowledge of letters. They have, many of them, emerged from the tyranny of the will of their chiefs into the protection of a written law, abounding with liberal and enlightened principles, and 200,000 of them are reported to have embraced Christianity.

With respect to the native tribes of South Africa, the copious evidence taken by your Committee, has related rather to their

civil affairs than to their moral and religious condition. It is not now necessary to repeat the circumstances of oppression under which, till within a late period, the Hottentots laboured. They had fallen, as we have seen, into a state of bondage to the farmers, through a system of forced contracts of service, and of apprenticeship of their children; both of which are noticed with strong disapprobation by the Commissioners of Inquiry. * * *

After noticing some of the attempts made by the different missionary societies for the improvement of the Hottentots, the Report proceeds thus:—

At this time an experiment was made which proves what may be done for men by merely giving fair play to the motives which stimulate honest industry. It is thus detailed by the present Lieutenant-governor of the frontier:

The Government, wishing to give full effect to the provisions of the 50th Ordinance, and well aware that this law could never operate to its full extent in favour of the class in whose behalf it had been framed, without a fair field being opened for the exertions of its industry, determined on the experiment of allotting lands to a certain number of Hottentot families. This experiment was intended to be upon a small scale. Hottentots of good character, or possessing property, were invited to settle in the branches of the Kat River. They were to be located in the immediate vicinity of the Caffres, who were then in a state of great irritation against the colony. Some families of Hottentots soon made their appearance on the spot; few of these possessed property to any amount; they were poor, as might be expected, but were generally known to be steady men. It was soon, however, found to be impossible to draw a line of distinction. Hottentots flocked in from all quarters, many of them known to be indifferent characters; even some of those who till then had been vagabondizing came and begged to be tried. To exclude these became difficult; to refuse a man the opportunity of bettering his condition only because it was suspected that he would prove unworthy, appeared cruel. In the mean time the Caffres threatened the new settlements, and it became necessary to arm the new settlers, or to expose them to be massacred; ruin was anticipated from such a step. The Caffres with their assagais were thought less dangerous to the colony than a congregation of Hottentots armed with muskets, with little or nothing to eat. That these men would turn the weapons which we had put into their hands against ourselves as well as against the Caffres, and that the country would be deluged with blood, was confidently predicted. The clamour became loud, and the projectors themselves began to doubt whether they might not have acted too rashly; but the step, whether wise or rash, was taken; hundreds of able-bodied men, well armed and supplied with ammunition, but with little food, were within hail of each other; hungry men so circumstanced, might (it was thought) make short work of the numberless flocks of the Caffres and colonists on both sides and all round them. Such were the predictions then expressed; but the conduct of the Hottentots soon gave them a practical contradiction. They were told "Show yourselves worthy of freedom, and your farther improvement is in your own

power." Instead of collecting in a mass, eating and sleeping until the little they then had should be consumed, and then carrying fire and destruction over the country, and allowing the Caffres to surprise them, cut all their throats, and with their muskets carry on a more equal warfare with the colony, as was anticipated, they set immediately to work, cut canals which, considering their tools and the rock and indurated soil through which they had to penetrate, would have been thought impracticable. They cultivated, by means of the most miserable implements, an extent of country which surprised every body who visited the locations, including the governor. Those who had no food lived upon wild roots and by working for those who had something; these again were obliged to economise to support their families, until in a few months they had an abundance of pumpkins, Indian corn, peas, beans, &c. Instead of apathy or indifference about property, they become (now that they had property to contend for) as covetous and litigious about land and water as any other set of colonists. They display the utmost anxiety to have schools established among them. Several of these schools are in a flourishing state, and so eager are they for instruction, that if they find only one amongst them who can spell, where nothing better can be obtained, they get him to teach that little to the rest. They travel considerable distances to attend divine service regularly; their spiritual guides speak with delight of the fruits of their labours. Nowhere have temperance societies succeeded half so well as among this people, formerly so prone to intemperance. They have themselves petitioned the government that their grants may contain a prohibition against the establishment of canteens or brandy houses. They have repulsed the Caffres on every occasion on which they have been attacked, and are now on the best of terms with that nation. They have cost the government nothing beyond the salary of their minister, from 15 to 20 mudes of Indian corn, and a few more of oats given them for seed the first year, 1829, and the loan of the muskets, together with a little ammunition given them for their own protection as well as that of the country in general. They pay every tax like the rest of the people; they have rendered the Kat River decidedly by far the safest part of the frontier; and the same plan, followed upon a more extensive scale, would soon enable Government to withdraw the troops altogether, and put an end to that desultory warfare which must retard the improvement both in the colony and its barbarous neighbours, whilst no excuse would be left for Hottentot vagrancy.

Petty misdemeanors we must suppose occur in this as in every community, but they have not hitherto cost the public a magistrate, and the nearest functionary of the kind is two long days' ride distant. I only recollect two cases tried before the civil courts in which settlers of the Kat River were the accused; one was a Bushman who had stolen some goats before he had joined the settlement, and was taken up after he had reached it, and the other was the case of two Hottentots who had stolen a Caffre cow, which was discovered by the vigilance of the head of the party to which they belonged, who arrested and sent them prisoners to Graham's Town, though the owner of the cow wished to make up the matter, by receiving back another cow. In short, the most prejudiced men who have travelled through the locations admit that the Hottentots have done wonders; that as far as the land is arable they have made a garden of it from one end to the other; they have already supplied the military posts with forage and provisions to a considerable extent, and just as I was embarking the commissary-general handed

to me a memorandum of some of their tenders which he had just accepted. The above statement may possibly by some be considered as too favourable, and individuals may be found who, jealous of the success of this experiment, in refutation of all their sinister predictions, may point out indolent and bad characters in the Kat River settlement, such of course existing there as well as in every other place where numbers of men are congregated. But to these objectors I would reply, that I never meant to represent the Hottentots as faultless or better than any other race of people in the aggregate. I have only wished to show that as soon as they were treated as reasonable beings they acted reasonably, and the facts now stated can be proved to the letter.

The difficulties of the undertaking are further told. Dr. Philip says, speaking of the Kat River settlement, "I saw in one instance, in 1832, a Bushman location, and at that time they had been very recently established on that location, and they had nothing whatever when they were first located there. They borrowed a hatchet; they made a wooden plough without one iron nail in it, entirely of wood, and with this they cultivated their land. They received from the first crop enough to supply them through the winter, and something to sell. In the second year they cultivated to a greater extent; they had then a very excellent plough, which they made, themselves with an iron coulter; they had also made a waggon for themselves; they had had no previous advantages whatever; they were literally in the situation which Captain Stockenstrom mentions, when they asked him what they were to do for means to cultivate their ground. 'If you are not able,' said he, 'to do it with your fingers, you need not go there.' But they had resources in their own minds, and those resources were brought into action, and with the most complete success."

The Rev. J. Read states, "They had to form dams across the river and water-courses, sometimes to the depth of 10, 12 and 14 feet, and that sometimes through solid rock, and with very sorry pickaxes, iron crows and spades, and few of them. These works have excited the admiration of visitors; they had to cut roads also on the sides of mountains of considerable height. An obstacle was raised, in the beginning, to the Hottentots residing alone; a mixture was recommended of Dutch and English. The Hottentots begged and prayed to be left alone for a few years, and Captain Stockenstrom entered into their feeling, and said to them, 'Then show to the world that you can work as well as others, and that without the shambok (the whip).'"

They did work, and as a proof that they did not relax in their industry, we may mention that, according to Colonel Wade, they had, in 1833, completed 55 canals for irrigation, of which 44 measured nearly 24 miles. They were not disheartened by common accidents, such as a drought and a sickness amongst the horses, and the settlement continued to prosper beyond the most sanguine expectations of Captain Stockenstrom, who planned, and the

Government who promoted the experiments; and as Colonel Wade remarks, the statement of its progress afforded the "best evidence that the Hottentots could be industrious, and were as capable of contending with ordinary difficulties as their fellow-men."

But there is another important fact to be noticed with regard to the Kat River settlement. It took, at its very commencement, a religious character, to which, as we believe, may be ascribed its subsequent well-doing. Many of the leaders and the men, who set the example of industry, had been educated at missionary establishments, and so impressed were they with the necessity of religious administrations, that they would not remain without a missionary, and sent for Mr. Read within a few months after their establishment. The Rev. W. Thompson was also appointed Dutch minister at the Kat River, and both have spoken with the greatest satisfaction of the people. Mr. Read says of them:—

"The people were moral; many had been addicted to drinking brandy, and that to excess; but when the temperance society was established, about 1,700 signed its rules, and when I left only four or five persons in three years had broken through the rules. Although wine is not included in the rule, yet most of the people refrain from taking any; they also sent a memorial to the governor, requesting that their grants for their lands might be given so as never to admit a canteen in the settlement. Religion flourished among them. I baptized about 260 adults during the four years and a half that I was with them, besides children, and the number of church members was about 400; the attendance on religious worship was great; on Sunday we were obliged to divide into two congregations, and the conduct of the people was most uniform. The older people were most zealous for instruction themselves, and very anxious to have their children educated, and for the latter object bore some of the expenses themselves. We had seven schools for the larger children and one school of industry, besides five infant schools, mostly carried on by native teachers, receiving a small salary from the Missionary Society, and generally supported in provisions by the people. There are connected with our congregation about three-fourths of the settlement. * * *

Had it indeed depended on the Hottentots, we believe the frontier would have been spared the outrages from which they, as well as others, have suffered. Their flourishing settlement was thrown into confusion by the Caffre invasion, and the predominance of martial law, and the missionaries were ordered from their stations. We are informed that the "Kat River local force" behaved steadily and bravely in the war, and we hope that their loyalty may be speedily rewarded by a restoration of the privileges of which they were disposed to make so good an use. The native teachers are, we are told, carrying on the work of education to the best of their power; but they are extremely anxious for the return of their missionaries.

The northern frontier of our colony, an extent of 300 miles, is bordered by the Griquas, a mixed race, "the offspring of colonists by Hottentot females, who finding themselves treated as inferior by

their kinsmen of European blood, and prevented from acquiring the possession of land, or any fixed property, within the colony, about fifty years ago sought a refuge from contumely and oppression among the native tribes beyond its limits, where their numbers were gradually augmented by refugees of the same class from the colony, and by intermarriages with females of the Bushmen and Coranna tribes around them." In these people we find a striking instance of the benefit of missionary restraints; and they afford a remarkable contrast with the Caffres on the north-eastern frontier, whose unsettled state has not allowed them as yet to take the mould of their teachers. * * * *

A fact mentioned by Dr. Philip marks the influence which the missionaries early acquired over the Griquas in leading them to acts of justice. They have been accused, and with much probability of truth, of having, whilst themselves in a savage state, treated the Bushmen with barbarity, and expelled them from the greater part of their country. This, however, was before the missionaries went to them. "I never understood that when the missionaries discovered the fountains, where Griqua Town now stands, there were any tribes or persons in occupation of the place. They found that part of the country empty, and they took possession of it. Shortly after, they discovered some springs of water at a place which was named Campbell. This place was about 40 miles distant from Griqua Town, and there was only one Bushman and his family upon it; and Adam Kok, late chief of Philippolis, paid him 150 dollars for the fountain he claimed as belonging to him. This transaction shews, that at a very early period, the Griquas had imbibed some principles of justice, towards the Bushmen from the missionaries. This fact was brought to my knowledge by the following circumstance. When Campbell was put under the jurisdiction of Waterboer by the treaty Sir Benjamin D'Urban entered into with that chief, Adam Kok, the chief of Philippolis, preferred his claim for the 150 dollars he had paid for that fountain, which claim, after an investigation of the circumstances, was allowed, and the money was paid to him."

Long after the settlement of the Griquas, they not only tolerated the Bushmen in the land, but in 1832, when, as we have seen, Dr. Philip did not see a single Bushman kraal in the Bushman country within the colony, he passed 11 kraals between Philippolis and the Yellow River, the inhabitants of all of which spoke of the Griquas as their benefactors, and the only people to whom they could look up for protection. The Griquas are said to have once held the Bushmen in slavery. "They now," says Mr. Moffat, "regard the practice with abhorrence." We regret to say that our farmers are less scrupulous, as is proved by the following fact mentioned by Mr. Moffat:—"The Bushmen in general are attached to their children. Many applications for them have been rejected by the parents, though the price offered has been raised with a view to

tempt them. One Bushman was induced to yield his consent to give up his child for a cow, and a Griqua farmer was applied to, to lend one for the purpose of effecting the bargain. The Griqua seemed to appeal to me for advice how to act, stating that his heart forbade him; and as I discouraged him, he refused to give the cow, and the bargain was consequently broken off. The Bushmen in question were living from choice with the Griquas, and perfectly free; and application was made to Berandt, one of the Griqua captains, to influence the Bushmen to sell their children, and he observed to me, that he could not do it; that it was slave-trade to barter for children: and what was he to think of our people who could make such a proposal to him,"

Having got the Griquas to settle, Mr. Anderson next induced them to adopt a more regular form of government, and also got the Colonial Government to confirm a chief of their electing.

They do not, however, appear to have been willing to profess entire subjection to the Colonial Government, and their refusing to furnish recruits in 1814 gave great umbrage. It was with some difficulty that Dr. Philip obtained leave for the continuance of the mission among these people: the missionaries were, however, suffered to remain, and in 1819 the connexion with the colony was strengthened by the establishment of a fair at Beaufort, for the mutual benefit of the colonists and the native tribes, of whom the Griquas were the principal dealers. "At the first fair the business done by that people amounted to 27,000 rix dollars; and on most of the goods sold to the Griquas by the colonists the latter had a profit of from 200 to 500 per cent. In 1820 a second fair was held, which terminated as successfully as the first. On that occasion about 200 people attended, with 27 waggons, loaded with elephants' teeth, salt, skins of all sorts, wheat, honey, and various curiosities, driving before them upwards of 700 oxen. This circumstance shows that missionaries have been the instruments of elevating considerably the character and condition of this people. I was informed by several respectable and intelligent individuals present, that the strangers not only vied with the colonists in preserving order, but that the praise of sobriety was so decidedly on their side, as on several occasions to induce the chief magistrate present to speak of their conduct with admiration, and point them out as examples to the colonists." * * * *

That education is rapidly advancing among the Griquas, we have a casual illustration in a paper relating to the succession to one of the chieftainships, in which it is observed that a certain candidate "cannot write, and therefore will have no support among the people." Now the majority of the tribe, consisting of that portion to whom instruction has been afforded, are, as we are told, "well disposed, and anxious to live at peace with us;" and they afford a fresh instance of the natural connection of an appreciation of the advantages of education, with a friendly feeling towards Europeans.

This is a fact which, whether we look at it in reference to the interests of religion and humanity, or to its effect on the security of property, or to its influence in procuring us at once the best and the cheapest defence against the inroads of the neighbouring tribes, deserves peculiar notice; and an instructive contrast may be drawn between the tranquillity of this large extent of our northern frontier, protected by tribes humanized by Christianity, and treated with some consideration by our Government, and the constant disturbances along the 80 miles of the north-eastern boundary, fortified, as it has been, by a large military establishment against the inroads of exasperated natives. "As it is," says Captain Stockenstrom, "you will find, by the statements of the military commandant himself of 1831, that then, after so many years of military coercion, the frontier was in as deplorable a condition as it ever had been. Would any man tell you that it is because there are not troops enough? Let him then say how many it would take to protect a frontier of 800 miles, if 1,000 cannot do so with 80 miles."—"If the present system be persevered in, we may require the troops to be increased tenfold, for every cottage and every flock may require a guard; and, by an opposite course, we may hope to see them dispensed with altogether." * * * *

We have yet another example to bring of the benefit we have derived from missionary influence upon bordering nations; and it shall be taken from the quarter to which we have of late been especially led to look with apprehension. So great has been the effect of missionaries upon the Caffre race, that Captain Stockenstrom (as we however think erroneously) would even estimate their political beyond their religious usefulness. He says, "Their influence is really wonderful; but it is more of a political than a religious nature. Look at what Mr. Shaw's influence has done with one set of Caffres in the midst of all this last war; that decidedly is political; and if we look at the number of real converts which they have made in a religious point of view, I should think they would be found few in proportion to those who have been kept out of harm's way in other respects."

The Committee next advert to the introduction of Christianity among the Caffres.

Under these favourable circumstances, Christianity gradually took hold of the people's minds. They disputed every inch of ground with us; they were willing to go into inquiry, but we found them very different in that respect to the Hottentots in the colony, who always receive with implicit credit what is stated to them by their teachers. The Caffres exhibited considerable powers of mind, and were not willing to receive any dogma until it was proved to their satisfaction. At length, however, "the truths of the Christian religion made a deep impression on many of them; the chiefs regularly attended divine worship; some of their own children

learned to read and write. Kama and his wife, a daughter of the late Gaika, embraced the Christian faith, and were baptized; and my successors," writes Mr. Shaw, "have favourably reported since of the continued progress of Christianity amongst them." The Sabbath has been recognized by proclamation of the chiefs; and it is stated that the "effect of the Gospel in promoting public morals and humanizing the people is observable by all who visit that tribe." Whilst inculcating the doctrines of Christianity, Mr. Shaw neglected not the civilization of the people; and he succeeded in raising them from purely nomadic to agricultural habits. He taught them the use of the plough, an implement difficult for them to purchase, but seeing the advantage of it, they managed to acquire ploughs, and also waggons with teams of oxen. They have built a beautiful village at Wesleyville, with houses much in the same style as those of European settlers. Many of the tribe adopted an European dress; and such was their demand for British manufactures, that Mr. Shaw applied to the Government to found a shop or store for the sale of British goods. The Wesleyan missionaries have published a grammar of the Caffre language, and have translated and printed nearly the whole of the New Testament and a portion of the Old; and the school children (who are described as being very intelligent) can read the Scriptures in their own language. Many barbarous customs have given way before the light and knowledge introduced by missionaries. "Their heathenish cruelties," says Mr. Kay, "have been materially checked. On every mission station the various superstitious ceremonies to which the people have been accustomed from time immemorial, are almost wholly laid aside. Some of these were of the most inhuman character, inflicting torture and excruciating pain, by means of stinging insects; of branding with hot stones; of roasting or of burning, until nearly dead. Their sorcerers or rain-makers, also, a class of impostors, and the universal ringleaders in all this kind of cruelty, with whom every missionary has had more or less to contend, have been put to flight; being, confessedly, unable to dwell where the light of the Gospel shines. I very much question, therefore, whether one of these men could now be found within a circle of many miles round about any of the stations. This circumstance will appear the more important when I state that the living stand in constant dread of them; their property, and even life itself, being placed in jeopardy the moment they begin to call an assembly; and all being kept in perfect suspense, as to the object of vengeance, until they announce their verdict, which is uniformly based upon some supposed witchcraft." On the first appearance of hostilities Pato, Kama, and Cobus, sent messengers to every part of Caffreland, with the hope of stopping them. They afforded refuge to all the British traders who fled to them, patrolled their boundary to stop marauders, and reinforced a post under the command of a British officer.

In the feeling of the Christian chiefs that to destroy the bonds of

union with Christian and civilized men, is to replunge their people into barbarism, and to annul the advantages that they have learnt to prize, lies, we are convinced, the main security we have for peace and quietness on our borders.

To bring barbarians, however, to this opinion, must require a certain continuance of equable and temperate policy towards them; and the experiment of subduing their fierceness, by the mild influence of civilization, remains to be tried on those tribes who have most distinguished themselves in the late lamentable hostilities. We fear that Macomo has had too much reason to allege to Dr. Philip, who was urging him to have his children sent to school, "All that you have said is very good; but I am shot at every day; my huts are set fire to, and I can only sleep with one eye open, and the other eye shut; I do not know where my place is, and how can I get my children to be instructed?"

Tzatzoe, who is himself a Christian, and who has himself laboured for the conversion of his countrymen, says that the "word of God had once made a deep impression upon the Caffres;" but the commando of Colonel Frazer put a stop to the labours of the missionaries, and that since that time commandos have continued, and the people have not been able to learn. The Caffres say, "We might learn if we were not teazed every day;" and Tzatzoe adds, "Whenever the missionaries preach to the Caffres, or whenever I myself preach or speak to my countrymen, they say, 'Why do not the missionaries first go and preach to the people on the other side; why do not they preach to their own countrymen, and convert them first.'"

Some progress was made in the instruction of these turbulent, irritated spirits, when affairs came unhappily to the crisis, which put a stop to all attempts of the kind. Tzatzoe himself had at his place a missionary, Mr. Brownlee, and a church, capable of containing 300 persons, generally filled on the Sunday; together with schools; and though these incipient improvements have, we fear, been crushed by the events of the war, and the occupation of the station by the British troops, it is yet satisfactory to find him expressing his opinion, that "If peaceable relations and a good understanding between the Caffres and the colony were established, and if a state of tranquillity were restored to the Caffre nation, they would yet gladly receive missionaries, and attend to instruction." * * *

In reviewing the general case before us, we have endeavoured to fix our attention rather on the requirements of justice and morality than on the motives of interest. It may not, however, be irrelevant to observe, that the latter are in close alliance with the former, and that we cannot infringe on these without sacrificing true economy. We again beg to be distinctly understood, that we are making no charge against the body of English settlers: we believe them to have been great losers by a course of mistaken policy: and we commiserate the misfortunes which this has brought upon great numbers who have taken no active part in abetting a system of irri-

tation. In the matter of commerce alone they have been losers; for we have abundant evidence to show that the Caffres were acquiring an increasing desire for British manufactures, and that this unhappy war interrupted a trade which, though of late growth, had amounted to at least 30,000*l.* per annum in the purchase of European commodities.*

This fact, coupled with the knowledge of the profit we already derive from other nations in an incipient state of civilization, proves the utility to ourselves of cultivating with them the relations of peace and of mutual good understanding; and we repeat our conviction, that the most effectual mode of making such nations desirable neighbours, is the giving them Christian instruction, and allowing them, through the equity and the moderation of our political conduct, a fair opportunity to profit by the instruction afforded.

CONCLUSION.

Your Committee cannot recapitulate the evils which have been the result of the intercourse between civilized and barbarous nations more truly, than in the summary contained in the interrogation and responses of the secretaries of the three Missionary societies most conversant with the subject, and to which we have already referred.

4329. To Mr. *Coates.*] Is it your opinion that Europeans coming into contact with native inhabitants of our settlements tends (with the exception of cases in which missions are established) to deteriorate the morals of the natives; to introduce European vices; to spread among them new and dangerous diseases; to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits; to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction; to the seduction of native females; to the decrease of the native population; and to prevent the spread of civilization, education, commerce and Christianity: and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity to the heathen and savage nations. In the first place, is it your opinion that European contact with native inhabitants, always excepting the cases in which missions have been established, tends to deteriorate the morals of the natives?—Yes.

4330. To Mr. *Beecham.*] Do you concur in that opinion?—Yes.

4331. To Mr. *Ellis.*] Do you concur in that opinion?—Certainly.

---

* Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, 26 December, 1834, p. 64. The Rev. S. Kay states, that not a trader was travelling in Caffraria at the time the missionaries commenced their labours; when the war broke out 200 traders were in that country.

4332. Does it tend to introduce European vices?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4333. Does it tend to spread among them new and dangerous diseases?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4334. Does it tend to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*]—Yes.

4335. And to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes; but might I add a word which would go rather to express a doubt whether the ultimate result of that be injurious to the savage nations? but that it has the tendency suggested in the question, I have no doubt.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4336. To the seduction of native females?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4337. To the decrease of population?—Mr. *Coates.*] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4338. Does it tend to impede that civilization which, if Europeans properly conducted themselves, might be introduced?—Mr. *Coates.*] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] I have no doubt that it does.

4339. The same as to education?—Mr. *Coates.*] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Certainly.

4340. The same as to commerce?—Mr. *Coates.*] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4341. Is it your opinion that it tends to prevent the spread of the Christian Gospel?—Mr. *Coates.*] Most assuredly.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Yes.

4342. Is it generally your opinion that the effect of European intercourse, saving where missions have been established, has been, upon the whole, hitherto a calamity upon the native and savage nations whom we have visited?—Mr. *Coates.*] That I have no doubt about.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes, generally.—Mr. *Ellis.*] Generally, I should think it has.

4343. As far as you know, in instances of contention between Europeans and natives, has it generally happened that the Europeans were in fault?—Mr. *Coates.*] Universally, so far as I have information upon the subject.—Mr. *Beecham.*] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis.*] I have not met with an instance in which, when investigated, it has not been found that the aggression was upon the part of the Europeans.

These allegations have, we conceive, been clearly proved in the evidence of which we have given an abstract; and we have also seen the effects of conciliatory conduct, and of Christian instruction. One of the two systems we must have to preserve our own security, and the peace of our colonial borders; either an overwhelming military force with all its attendant expenses, or a line of temperate conduct and of justice towards our neighbours.

"The main point which I would have in view," said a witness before your Committee, "would be trade, commerce, peace and civilization. The other alternative is extermination; for you can stop nowhere; you must go on; you may have a short respite when you have driven panic into the people, but you must come back to the same thing until you have shot the last man." From all the bulky evidence before us, we can come to no other conclusion; and

considering the power, and the mighty resources of the British nation, we must believe that the choice rests with ourselves.

Great Britain has, in former times, countenanced evils of great magnitude,—slavery and the slave-trade; but for these she has made some atonement; for the latter, by abandoning the traffic; for the former, by the sacrifice of 20 millions of money. But for these offences there was this apology; they were evils of an ancient date, a kind of prescription might be pleadedfor them, and great interests were entwined with them.

An evil remains very similar in character, and not altogether unfit to be compared with them in the amount of misery it produces. The oppression of the natives of barbarous countries is a practice which pleads no claim to indulgence; it is an evil of comparatively recent origin, imperceptible and unhallowed in its growth; it never has had even the colour of sanction from the legislature of this country; no vested rights are associated with it, and we have not the poor excuse that it contributes to any interest of the state. On the contrary, in point of economy, of security, of commerce, of reputation, it is a short-sighted and disastrous policy. As far as it has prevailed, it has been a burthen on the empire. It has thrown impediments in the way of successful colonization; it has engendered wars, in which great expenses were necessarily incurred, and no reputation could be won; and it has banished from our confines, or exterminated, the natives, who might have been profitable workmen, good customers, and good neighbours. These unhappy results have not flowed from any determination on the part of the government of this country to deal hardly with those who are in a less advanced state of society; but they seem to have arisen from ignorance, from the difficulty which distance interposes in checking the cupidity and punishing the crimes of that adventurous class of Europeans who lead the way in penetrating the territory uncivilized man, and from the system of dealing with the rights of the natives. Many reasons unite for apprehending that the evils which we have described will increase if the duty of coming to a solemn determination as to the policy we shall adopt towards ruder nations be now neglected; the chief of these reasons is, the national necessity of finding some outlet for the superabundant population of Great Britain and Ireland. It is to be feared that, in the pursuit of this benevolent and laudable object, the rights of those who have not the means of advocating their interests or exciting sympathy for their sufferings, may be disregarded.

This, then, appears to be the moment for the nation to declare, that with all its desire to give encouragement to emigration, and to find a soil to which our surplus population may retreat, it will tolerate no scheme which implies violence or fraud in taking possession of such a territory; that it will no longer subject itself to the guilt of conniving at oppression, and that it will take upon itself the task

of defending those who are too weak and too ignorant to defend themselves.

Your Committee have hitherto relied chiefly on arguments, showing that no national interest, even in its narrowest sense, is subserved by encroachments on the territory or disregard of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of barbarous countries; but they feel it their duty to add, that there is a class of motives of a higher order which conduce to the same conclusion.

The British empire has been signally blessed by Providence, and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral and her religious advantages, are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. "It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?" He who has made Great Britain what she is, will inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence He has lent to us in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage; whether it has been engaged in seizing their lands, warring upon their people, and transplanting unknown disease, and deeper degradation, through the remote regions of the earth; or whether we have, as far as we have been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization, that innocent commerce, that knowledge and that faith with which it has pleased a gracious Providence to bless our own country.

SUGGESTIONS.

Having thus adverted to some of the more remarkable of those incidents by which the intercourse between the British Colonies and the Aborigines in their vicinity has been characterized, it remains to consider how the recurrence of similar calamities can be most effectually averted.

It is obviously difficult to combine in one code rules to govern our intercourse with nations standing in different relationships towards us. Some are independent communities; others are, by the nature of treaties, or the force of circumstances, under the protection

of Great Britain, and yet retain their own laws and usages; some are our subjects, and have no laws but such as we impose.

To this variety in their circumstances must be added a variety as great in their moral and physical condition. They are found in all the grades of advancement, from utter barbarism to semi-civilization.

To propose regulations which shall apply to our own subjects and to independent tribes, to those emerging from barbarism, and to those in the rudest state of nature, is a task from which your Committee would shrink, were it not that all the witnesses, differing as they do upon almost every other topic, unite in ascribing much of the evil which has arisen to the uncertainty and vacillation of our policy. Your Committee cannot too forcibly recommend that no exertion should be spared, and no time lost, in distinctly settling and declaring the principles which shall henceforth guide and govern our intercourse with those vast multitudes of uncivilized men, who may suffer in the greatest degree, or in the greatest degree be benefited, by that intercourse.

The regulations which we would suggest for that purpose are either general or special; that is, they either extend to all parts of the globe in which we are brought into contact with uncivilized tribes, or they apply only to the particular case of some one settlement. In the first place, therefore, we will advert to those general regulations which we have to suggest, and which may be reduced under nine separate heads.

I.—Protection of Natives to devolve on the Executive.
II.—Contracts for Service to be limited.
III.—Sale of ardent Spirits to be prevented.
IV.—Regulations as to Lands within British Dominions.
V.—New Territories not to be acquired without Sanction of Home Government.
VI.—Religious Instruction and Education to be provided.
VII.—Punishment of Crimes.
VIII.—Treaties with Natives inexpedient.
IX.—Missionaries to be encouraged.

Each of these is treated of at some length by the Committee.

NORTH AMERICA.

On the subject of the relations between the British colonies in North America and the Aborigines on that continent, your Committee abstain from offering any specific suggestions, because they understand that Her Majesty's Government have for some time past

been engaged in correspondence respecting it with the Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and that the case, although as yet immature for decision, will probably engage the attention of Parliament whenever the estimates for the expenses of what is called the Indian department shall be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. Your Committee are unwilling to embarrass the Government by suggestions, which, being offered during the pendency of the discussions on the subject, might proceed upon imperfect grounds and point to erroneous conclusions.

THE END.

Joseph Rickerby, Printer, Sherbourn Lane.